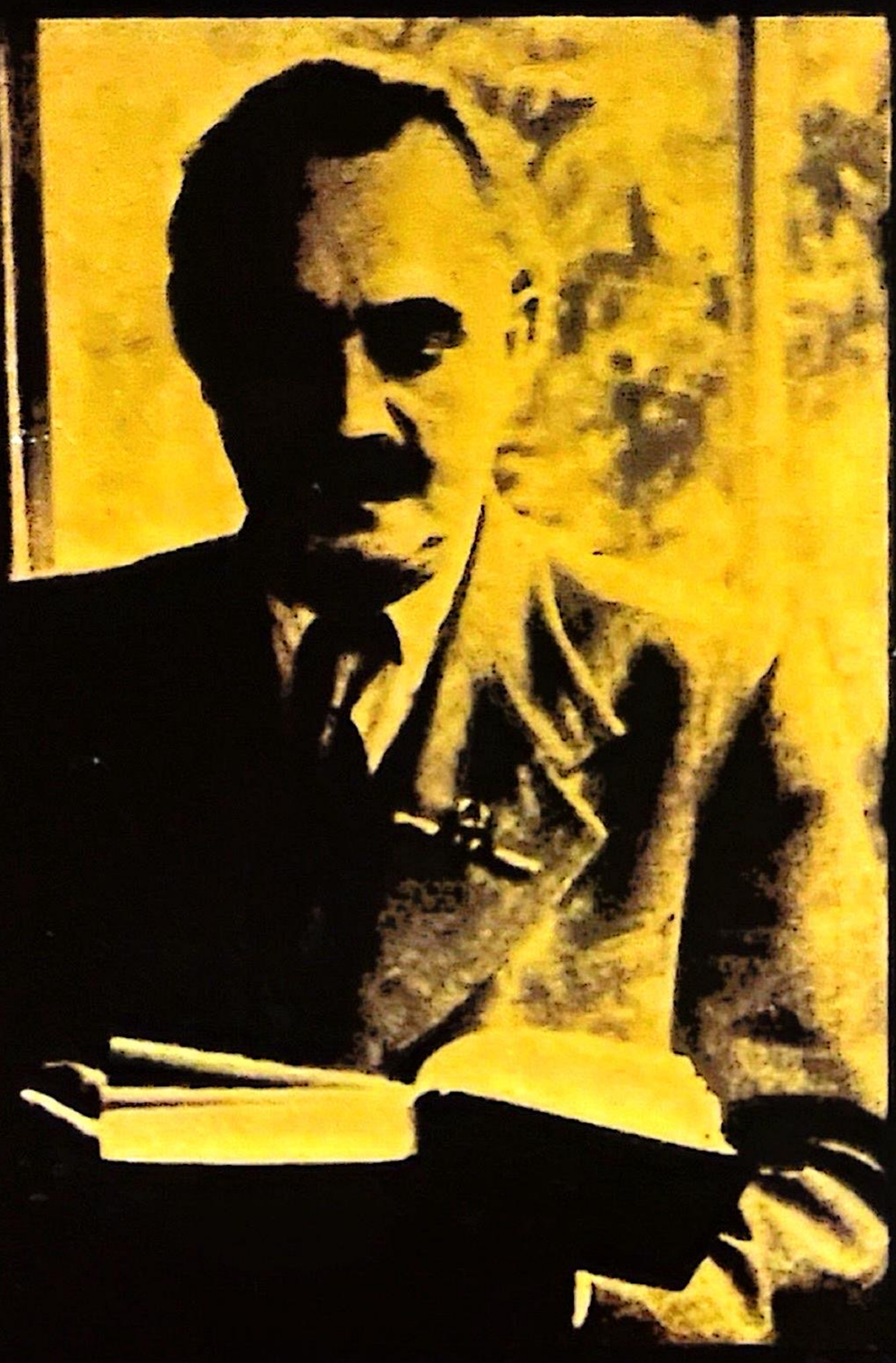
GEORGI DIMITROV SPEAKING



Georgi Dimitrov was a giant of action and thought, a highly educated, original, profound and creative Marxist-Leninist. His practical activity is inseparable from his theoretical work. His speeches and articles on problems of the day not only offer solutions to one or another topical problem, but also deal with a number of theoretical problems of tremendous and lasting importance.

TODOR ZHIVKOV

GEORGI DIMITROV

Speaking

Sofia Press

The Selection of Excerpts Was Made by:
Maria Chervendineva
Maria Yankova
Maria Boyadjieva
Gavril Chernev
Lyubka Kostova
Vera Sotirova
Dina Nikolova

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The volume Georgi Dimitrov Speaking contains only a fraction of the gems of Dimitrov's reflections of which his tremendous theoretical and literary heritage is so rich. Dimitrov's thoughts are vast and all-embracing, they gush forth with a titanic force, because they combine a profound knowledge of theory with the experience of the fighter, the communist revolutionary. They are daring, novel and realistic in a Leninist way which makes them topical and vitally necessary for the proper understanding of the contemporary revolutionary process.

The editors who are collaborators of the Georgi Dimitrov National Museum, encountered many difficulties in selecting the excerpts. They tried to find everything which is brilliant and precise and which reveals the greatness and depth of Dimitrov's thinking and its contemporary mobilizing significance, and at the same time have tried to show the man, the communist and citizen and his views on topical problems of life: the family, comradeship, love, etc. In the process of their work they perused all the editions of Dimitrov's works, as well as his various other publications and letters. They have done their best to avoid all those reflections and aphorisms which do not have an independent connotation, because when a thought is mechanically detached from its context, there lurks the danger of impairing or distorting the author's idea.

It was no easy task to find the most appropriate way of arranging the material. It was necessary skilfully to combine two fundamental principles: subject matter and chronology. The contents of the volume had to be arranged in such a way so as to reveal Dimitrov's boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, his ardent patriotism and internationalism, his immense gratitude and love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR, as well as his historic contribution to the treasurestore of Marxist-Leninist theory. For all these reasons, independent sections have been formed not only on the problems of theory and the class movement, but also on the Reichstag Fire Trial, the United Front, the Soviet Union and Bulgaro-Soviet friendship, Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people and Bulgaria on the road to socialism.

For the better orientation of the reader, every section begins with Dimitrov's most characteristic reflection on each subject. The editors have worked assiduously and with dedication in the hope that this book will touch the readers in general and especially the young readers, enabling them to feel the fascination, power, depth and scope of the thoughts of Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, the hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial, the prominent leader of the international workers' and communist movement.

'Georgi Dimitrov's life, thoughts and work are our invaluable national asset.' These words of Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, most appropriately describe the intransient value of everything that Dimitrov wrote or said. They also best explain the motives of the publishing house in preparing this volume.

THE EDITORS

CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLES

He who does not want to be an anvil, must be a hammer!

The proletariat is *tomorrow's real master* of the world. And it must come into its historic rights, it must take the reins of government in every country, in the whole world.

The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries Are Provisional, the Real Master of the World Is the Proletariat, Works, vol. 10, p.191

***

The world, a world that has been built by the hands of the workers, belongs to us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and spongers.

Ibid.

***

...the tremendous spontaneous force of the proletariat, inherent in its great numbers and economic role... *is by itself quite insufficient* to set it free, to make it the complete master of its destinies and worthy of its great historic mission.

The Right Road, Works, vol.5, p.121

***

The workers have never wanted to live in idleness; they live by their work, they want everybody, the whole nation to work, but to do so under conditions in which work will be a pleasure and not a burden or slavery...

On the Law on Labour Hygiene and Safety, Works, vol. 4, p.412

***

Shorter working hours – actually this is a historical fact valid for all countries – lead to higher cultural standards, enhance temperance and also raise the political consciousness and promote the independence of the working class.

Ibid., p.413

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The proletariat is the principal motive force of every anti-fascist popular movement, of every mass movement in defence of democracy and peace.

International Proletarian Unity – an Imperative of Our Times, Works, vol. 10, p.333

***

.. The more united and better organized the proletariat is, the more adequately it will be able to defend its class interests and the better it will perform its leading role in the ranks of the united popular front.

Ibid.

***

There is only one correct stand for the working class: the irreconcilable and courageous struggle against imperialist war...

The War and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries, Works, vol. 11, p.36

***

Only the working class, heading the basic masses of the peasantry and the working people in the towns, is in a position to put up a resolute resistance to the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to put an end to their bloody crimes and remove forever the causes that breed imperialist wars.

Ibid., p.45

***

The working class, together with all working people, is the most patriotic and, at the same time, the most internationalist class.

For Sound Patriotism and Genuine International Solidarity, Works, vol. 11, p.184

***

The working class has the leading role also because it has a strong theoretical weapon – Marxist science...

Basic Questions of the Policy and Tactics of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, Works, vol. 13, p.345

***

The working class, a selfless champion in defence of its people and country from fascist enslavement, must closely link up the question of the country's defence with the demands for extending the democratic rights of the workers and peasants and the protection of their vital interests...

The United Front of the Fight for Peace, Works, vol. 10, p. 255

***

... on the road to unity in the struggle against fascism and war, there are no difficulties or obstacles which the working class cannot overcome, provided it is firmly determined to rally its forces and perform its historic mission.

The Soviet Union and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries, Works, vol. 10, p.391

***

The recognition of the leading role of the working class entails certain obligations for it. It is at the helm of state leadership and has a historic mission to fulfil. That is why... it is answerable for the advance of our country and heavy responsibilities devolve on it... Much shall be expected from those whom nature has richly endowed.

Without the Working Class There Can Be No People's Democracy, Works, vol. 14, p.7

***

One of the major problems of our economy and the economic development of our country is to preserve the capacity for work, the health and energy of the working class, the class without which it is utterly inconceivable to create any wealth in the country.

On the Bill on Industrial and Office Workers' Insurance Against Accidents, Sickness and Disability, Works, vol. 5, p.20

***

...*through the Fatherland Front, the working class takes part in the country's administration.* It not only takes part in it but together with its trade unions, it is and should be one of the mainstays of the people's Fatherland Front Government.

Place and Role of the Trade Unions in the New State, Works, vol. 12, p.16

***

No arrogant and bossy governors can be tolerated among the working class. The working class is growing with every passing day and what it demands of its leaders and activists is intellect, a strong character, willpower and tact; tactfulness in their contacts with workers and employees. And whichever leader, great or small, fails to grasp this, he ought to be sorry for himself.

Without the Working Class There Can Be No People's Democracy, Works, vol. 14, p.14

***

Self-criticism and criticism are the strongest and most reliable weapons in our hands against our own shortcomings, against the weaknesses within the working class itself.

What Is Needed for the Success of the Shockworkers' Movement and of Emulation?, Works, vol. 13, p. 29

***

Woe is ... to the bourgeoisie for which the great book of history has been sealed with nine seals.

Now or Never, Works, vol. 7, p.263

***

The bourgeoisie in a given country, even if ideologically and politically bankrupt, even if totally isolated from the masses, and quite weak politically and in parliament, *can impose its dictatorship on the working people, if their forces are disunited, if there is mutual distrust and hostility between the peasantry, the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities.*

The Bulgarian Lesson, Works, vol. 8, p.159

***

The bourgeoisie cannot be removed from power by half-measures while the foundations of the bourgeois system are intact. If it is allowed to keep its economic potential, it will muster enough strength to recapture power, which it has been compelled to cede temporarily, under adverse circumstances. *Only by complete economic and political expropriation can the bourgeoisie be rendered harmless to the masses.*

Ibid., pp. 158-9

***

The peasants, no matter how well organized, are not capable of holding state power in their hands for any great period.

Ibid., p. 158

***

As we can see from the example of the Soviet Union, only in an alliance with the proletariat and under its conscious, forceful and firm leadership can the peasant

masses rid themselves of bourgeois oppression and become a truly dominant factor in the country, the free and complete masters of their destinies.

Ibid.

***

Far from taking up and continuing Botev's and Levski's* cause, the capitalist bourgeoisie betrayed it. It became the tool of international imperialism.

The Fatherland Front, Its Development and Forthcoming Tasks, Works, vol. 13, p. 466

***

... when it comes to abolishing exploitation itself, when the question arises for the working masses to seize power, when the proletariat and the bourgeoisie confront each other as classes, to maintain neutrality is tantamount to backing the counter-revolution against the liberating mission of the proletariat!

For Unity! Works, vol. 5, p.260

***

The struggle of the workers in a given country increasingly influences the development of the workers' revolutionary movement in other countries.

TheFirst Balkan and DanubianTrade Union Conference, Works, vol. 5, p. 541

* Botev and Levski were eminent leaders of the 19th century Bulgarian national-liberation revolution against Ottoman oppression

***

The economic struggle within the framework of the modern capitalist system... is less and less capable of securing the economic interests of the working people. The struggle of the working class increasingly becomes the political expression of its will.

Ibid.

***

When on *May Day* the workers down their hammer, needle, composing stock, etc, they will show that they are the only creators of all riches, that without the worker's hand all machines, tools and materials are *dead,* that all human culture, of which the master class so amply avails itself, is *the fruit of the workers's labour.* Therefore, the workers should be *the masters* and not *the slaves of labour!*

Labour Day, Works, vol. 1, p.106

***

When on May Day the workers leave the workshops, factories, mines, etc, they show the important role which they play in production and, by their economic and political might, arouse respect in the ranks of the ruling classes which are compelled to take the workers' demands and interests into account.

May Day and the Workers' Trade Unions, Works, vol.1, p.100

***

May Day is the herald of the liberation of the working class, of the emancipation of labour and of happiness for all mankind!

Labour Day, Works, vol. 1, p.106

***

If a strike is to be successful both from the practical and from the ideological point of view, it should be properly organized, should enjoy the solidarity of the workers in a given trade throughout the country and have their moral and material support.

The Need of Trade Unions in Bulgaria and Their Organization, Works, vol. 1, p.113

***

Boycott, as a form of struggle, is a reliable weapon in the hands of the working class.

Third Congress of the General Workers' Trade Union, Works, vol. 1, p.59

***

The working class must be able to take advantage of the contradictions and conflicts within the bourgeois camp...

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p.49

***

The whole course of historical development... favours the cause of the working class.

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol.10, p.175

REVOLUTION, DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, PARIS COMMUNE, GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, SEPTEMBER 1923 UPRISING, SEPTEMBER 9, 1944 UPRISING

There is no other event in mankind's history which has had such a tremendous impact... as the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution

The tide of socialism, of proletarian revolution, is submerging our class enemies and their protectors. Fighting firmly, shoulder to shoulder with the proletarians from all over the world, we shall be victorious.

The International Situation and the Situation in the Pernik Mines, Works, vol. 5, p.159

***

Not he, who repeats revolutionary phrases like a parrot, but he who untiringly works to prepare the masses for proletarian revolution, is a real revolutionary, because the revolution will be carried out by the working masses themselves and not by a handful of supermen.

One Year Ago, Works, vol. 5, p.578

***

Capitalism has gone bankrupt and must be replaced by communism. And this will take place not through trade union struggle but through the joint political struggle of the proletariat to conquer power and to establish a dictatorship of labour!

Forthcoming Tasks of the Trade Union Movement, Works, vol. 5, p. 235

... today the workers the world over are faced with the immediate task of fighting not only for higher wages and shorter working hours, not only for signing labour contracts which provide for insignificant improvements

over a year or two, *but with the task of conquering political power, of abolishing capitalist exploitation of labour and destroying the capitalist system itself.*

One Year Ago, Works, vol. 5, p. 578

We should not confine ourselves to mere appeals for a struggle for proletarian dictatorship. We must find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which stem from the vital needs of the masses and correspond to the level of their fighting capacity at the present stage of development.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.59

***

... the struggle of the working class in all spheres, including that of the trade union movement, *inevitably leads to the conquest of political power.*

For Unity! Works, vol.5, p.254

***

The time of peaceful trade union struggles which do not affect the foundations of the capitalist system is over. At present, all clashes between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie inevitably develop into a struggle for political power – for possession of the means of production and control over the country's economy.

What the Red International of Labour Unions Should Be, Works, vol. 6, p.11

***

Only the common and joint struggle of the Balkan, West European and world proletariat, relying on the Soviet Union – the bulwark against world imperialism and the centre of world liberation – can and will lead to certain victory.

On the French-Yugoslav Treaty of Friendship, Works, vol. 8, p. 303

***

No victorious revolution is possible in our country without the participation of the masses of toiling peasants.

The Tasks of the Trade Union Movement, Works, vol. 6, p.220

***

The particular form of transition from capitalism to socialism in Bulgaria does not and cannot alter the basic laws of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism which are valid for all countries. The transition to socialism cannot be effected without the dictatorship of the proletariat over the capitalist elements and for the organization of a socialist economy.

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, December 25, 1948, Works, vol. 14, p.347

***

The Paris Commune was the first serious attempt on the part of the working class to take political power in its hands, form a government of its own and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of a new type of state, a proletarian state, a forerunner of the Soviets. The Paris Commune expressed the interests and most cherished aspirations of the international proletariat and became the banner of proletarian internationalism. The Paris Commune was an impressive feat of the masses, the result of their creative initiative and revolutionary enthusiasm.

On the Seventieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune, Works, vol. 11, p.94

***

The Paris Commune was a tremendous outburst of indignation at the treachery of the French bourgeoisie in the 1870-71 war, at the plot of the bourgeoisie to destroy the republic and restore the monarchy. It was a direct reply to the attempts of the reactionary bourgeois and big landowners to disarm the Paris workers, to crush the French people and make them bear the brunt of the reckless war lost by Louis Buonaparte and pay heavy war contributions.

Ibid., p.95

***

The Commune was in fact a *government of the working class*, it was a political form under which the economic emancipation of labour could be effected.

Ibid.

***

The Commune proved that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes, but must establish a dic-

tatorship of the proletariat. The Commune was not a revolution against a specific form of state power for the purpose of transferring this power from the hands of one part of the ruling classes into the hands of another. The Commune was a revolution which tried to destroy the state apparatus of bourgeois class domination.

Ibid., p. 96

***

The French proletarians remember that the banner of the Paris Communards was the banner of internationalism. The decrees of the Commune, all its activity, the men of whom it was composed, its very existence, its slogans were all imbued with the spirit of internationalism.

Ibid., p.100

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What the brightest and most farseeing minds of mankind have been thinking about, what inspired the fighters of the Paris Commune, what hundreds of millions of working people are thinking and dreaming of – a society without exploitation and oppression of man by man, without oppression of one nation by another – has been achieved by the great country of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Ibid., p.99

***

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened before mankind the way to true democracy and socialism, the road to the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

The October Socialist Revolution Opened Before Mankind the Road to True Democracy and Socialism, Works, vol. 14, p.210

***

There is no other event in mankind's history which has had such a temendous impact on the whole course of social development, on the destinies of all nations in the world, as the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Soviet Union and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries, Works, vol. 10, p. 381

***

The experience of the October Revolution has eloquently demonstrated that the gist of the proletarian revolution is the question of proletarian dictatorship, which is called upon to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, to arm the revolution for a struggle against imperialism and lead it to the complete victory of socialism.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.125

***

Victory in the October Revolution went to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, exercised by the Russian working class under the leadership of the *revolutionary proletarian party* – the Bolshevik Party, in a fierce struggle against menshevism. The October Revolution triumphed thanks to the *alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry*, an alliance in which the political leadership belonged to the proletariat.

The Struggle for a United Front, Works, vol. 9, p.508

***

The armed uprising of the workers in October 1917 triumphed because it relied on the *Soviets* as organs of the uprising and the seizure of power, as organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working people in the USSR have succeeded in safeguarding the gains of the October Revolution because, forming a part of the world proletarian revolution, it relied on the *support of the international proletariat.*

Ibid.

***

The victorious October Revolution, which set free the exploited proletariat, the peasants and the oppressed peoples in the great Russian Empire, made a deep impression on the toiling masses in the Balkans, as the economic structure of the Balkan countries has many features in common with that of tsarist Russia.

Fascism in the Balkans, Works, vol. 8, p.399

***

All Europe is already suffused with the light of dawn in Russia. This dawn will rise in our country, too. We already feel its first rays...

The International Situation and the Situation in the Pernik Mines, Works, vol. 5, p.157

***

The September 1923 Uprising was the first popular uprising against fascism. Though the communists played the main role in this historic uprising, it was not a Party

cause, but a popular cause and, first and foremost, a cause of the working class and the peasants in Bulgaria.

Lessons of the September Uprising, Works, vol. 11, p.251

***

The revolutionary struggle of September was, in the real sense of the term, a *general popular movement* with all its inherent characteristic features.

Open Letter to the Bulgarian Workers and Peasants, Works, vol. 7, p.273

***

The aim of the struggle was not to set up a dictatorship or establish a Soviet regime in Bulgaria, as the present government deliberately tries to misrepresent it, but to overthrow the rabid military dictatorship and form a broadly based democratic government, issued from the great majority of the Bulgarian people, i.e. the toiling masses. And nowhere in the course of the struggle did the insurgents establish a Soviet regime in the districts where they had taken over local power, as the government quite falsely alleges. Only joint revolutionary committees of the worker-peasant government were set up.

Ibid.

***

In 1923 the September Uprising of the Bulgarian proletariat was crushed. But just as in 1905 the Russian proletariat was able under Lenin's leadership to draw all the necessary lessons from its uprising and gain faith

in its cause, so today the Bulgarian workers, led by the Communist Party and guided by the Communist International, further steeled their forces after the crushing of the uprising, consolidated their Party and are relentlessly fighting against Bulgarian fascism.

Letter to the Austrian Workers, March 1934, Works, vol. 9, pp. 409-10

***

The bloody lesson of the September Uprising galvanized the process of the Party's bolshevization. This process was considerably facilitated by the frank admission of the June 9* error by the leader of the Party, Dimiter Blagoev, and by his full endorsement of the September Uprising.

Political Report of the Central Committee to the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), December 19, 1948, Works, vol. 14, p.242

***

The September Uprising created an unbridgeable gap between the masses and the fascist bourgeoisie. That is why during the succeeding years fascism was never able to stabilize its positions and gain a firm foothold in the country.

Ibid.

***

There are... defeats which greatly contribute to the future victory of the liberation cause of the working class. Such was the case with the defeat of the September 1923 Uprising.

Ibid.

* The June 9, 1923 military-fascist coup d'état

***

The Bulgarian working people will never come to terms with the White-guard regime of an insignificant, rapacious and oppressive minority – no matter what high-sounding phrases the latter may use or what 'democratic' reforms it may pretend to introduce. We will learn from the lesson of our defeat and tomorrow we shall be stronger than yesterday, while our enemies will continue to lose ground.

Open Letter to the Bulgarian Workers and Peasants,
Works, vol. 7, p.275

***

We will... safeguard and strengthen the *alliance of all working people in towns and villages* – an alliance which was sealed during the struggles in September with the blood shed by the many thousands of combatants who gave their lives for the cause of the people. *No dejection, no despair, no pussillanimity!*

Ibid., p. 276

***

The anti-fascist popular uprising of September 1923, organized and led by the Bulgarian Communist Party, marked a turning-point in its evolution from left-wing socialism to bolshevism.

Political Report of the Central Committee...,
Works, vol. 14, p.240

***

I am proud of this heroic uprising.

My only regret is that I and my Party were not yet *real bolsheviks* at that time. That is why we were unable successfully to organise and lead this *historic* people's uprising, headed by the *proletariat*.

Dimitrov's Notes for His First Speech in Court, Works, vol.9, pp. 112-3

***

... one can unequivocally say that, without the glorious September Uprising and its great lessons, the long, unwavering struggle of the people against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship would not have been possible.

Without the September 1923 Uprising, the Victorious Struggle Against Monarcho-Fascism Would Not Have Been Possible, Works, vol. 12, p.314

***

The September 9, 1944 People's Anti-Fascist Uprising marked a turning-point in the development of our country. It ushered in a new era in its history, an era of far-reaching revolutionary political, economic, social and cultural changes, which cleared the deck for a new social system, a system in which there is no room for exploitation of man by man.

The Fatherland Front, Its Development and Forthcoming Tasks, Works, vol.13, p.469

***

Although its immediate tasks were of a democratic order, the September 9 Uprising could not but shake to its foundations the capitalist system in our country, thus transcending the confines of bourgeois democracy.

Political Report of the Central Committee...,
Works, vol. 14, p.273

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The concurrence of the September 9,1944 People's Anti-Fascist Uprising and the victorious advance of the Soviet Army in the Balkans not only ensured the triumph of the uprising but also gave it great scope and impetus. The hatred of fascism, stored up in the course of two decades, and the determination of the working masses to do away with it, burst out irresistibly and swept away the fascist regime at a blow.

Ibid., pp.271-2

***

On September 9, 1944 political power in our country was wrested from the hands of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the monarcho-fascist minority of exploiters, and passed into the hands of the vast majority of the people, the toilers from town and countryside, with the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, playing the active, leading role. Having triumphed with the decisive aid of the heroic Soviet Army, the September 9 Uprising cleared the way to the building of socialism in our country.

Ibid., p.271

COMMUNISM

Progressive mankind... has a life-giving science for its lodestar, and that is Marxist-Leninist science

Progressive mankind... has a life-giving science for its lodestar, and that is Marxist-Leninist science.

In Our People's Republic, the Army Is an Integral Part of the People, Works, vol. 14, p.95

***

Leninism... now is a guide to action and a compass in the complex situation of the class struggle, not only for the communist parties but also for all true fighters for people's democracy, lasting peace and socialism.

Under the Great and Invincible Banner of Leninism, Works, vol. 14, p. 357

***

If we master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, this science will serve us as a guide to action, and not as a prescription valid for all countries, for all times and circumstances. There is no such prescription, nor can there be any.

The Young Workers' League Should Be a School of Socialism, Works, vol. 12, p.83

***

...real revolutionary theory is irreconcilably opposed to all emasculated theorizing, to unproductive play with abstract definitions. *'Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action'*, Lenin used to say.It is precisely *such* a theory that our cadres need, and they need it just as much as they need their daily bread, as they need air or water.

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p.169

***

Marxism should be studied in substance and applied for practical and immediate purposes in the struggle against the enemy...

Our Party's Foresight Has Been Brilliantly Borne Out, Works, vol. 13, p.90

***

All knowledge should be systematic, it should represent a comprehensive world outlook and a guide to action by means of which we shall not only be able to explain reality, but also change it into something better.

Wonderful, Young, Intelligent and Promising Cadres Are Growing Up, Works, vol. 11, p. 368

***

It is only under the great and invincible banner of Leninism that working mankind will be able to free itself from capitalist slavery and imperialist wars of aggression.

Under the Great and Invincible Banner of Leninism, Works, vol. 14, p. 359

***

...we, communists, are men of action. We must wage a day-today struggle against the offensive of capitalism, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war; we must wage a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It is precisely this *practical* task that obliges the communist cadres to equip themselves with a *revolutionary theory*, for theory gives to those who are engaged in

practical work, power of orientation, clarity of vision, confidence in their work and faith in the triumph of our cause.

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, pp. 168-9

***

We should not permit practice to be divorced from theory, or a gap to appear between the fulfilment of the pressing day-to-day tasks and the long-range prospects and aims of the working class struggle. We must not forget that the more the popular front movement grows and the more complex its tactical problems become, the more it calls for a real Marxist analysis of the situation and the balance of contending forces, the more necessary it is to have in our hands the reliable compass of Marxist-Leninist theory.

International Proletarian Unity... Works, vol. 10, pp. 332-3

***

Let us correctly combine the pursuit of the popular front policy with Marxist propaganda, with raising the theoretical level of the cadres of the working class movement, with mastering the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin...

Ibid., p.332

***

...when properly understood, history is the best teacher about the present and the future, and its rich treasure of lessons should be amply made use of. We need a *Marxist philosophy of our historical development* just as much as we need bread and air.

On the Role and Tasks of Filosofska Missul Review, Works, vol. 12, p. 307

***

Socialism, as a superior and more equitable social and production system corresponding to the vital interests of the people, is a historical necessity for all nations.

Our Nation's Social Development Is Progressing Toward the Elimination of the Capitalist System of Exploitation and the Emancipation from Imperialist Dependence, Works, vol. 13, p. 379

***

...one may either enhance or obstruct the process of building socialism. This historically necessary process can be accelerated or slowed down. In no case, however, can it be arrested. It will continue to develop until its complete triumph.

Ibid.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Party, first and foremost!

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class; it is also the foremost leader of *both the political and the economic struggles* of the workers.

The First Balkan and Danubian Trade Union Conference, Works, vol. 5, p.550

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The leading role of the Communist Party must be acquired in the struggles of the working class. For this purpose, it is necessary not to rant about the leading role of the communists, but *to win the confidence of the working masses* by day-to-day, active work and a correct policy.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.119

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The Party, first and foremost! Let us guard the bolshevik unity of the Party like the apple of our eyes – this is the supreme law of bolshevism!

The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries..., Works, vol. 10, p.188

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The unity, revolutionary cohesion and militant preparedness of the communist parties are a most valuable asset which belongs not only to us, but to the whole working class.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.118

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By fighting for the unity of the working class, we shall fight with even greater energy and determination for the *internal unity of our parties*. There can be no factions or factional scheming within our ranks.

The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries...,
Works, vol. 10, p.188

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We, communists, are aware that the forces of the supporters of working class unity of action within the world workers' movement are growing stronger, and that ever wider circles of workers are raising a powerful voice in favour of this unity.

The Country of Socialism and the Fight of the International Proletariat,
Works, vol. 11, pp. 16-7

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The communist parties can ensure the mobilization of the broadest masses of working people for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capitalism *only provided they close their own ranks*, develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy and apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the actual situation and the alignment of class forces.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International...,
Works, vol. 10, p.117

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The might and influence of the communist parties are, among other things, due to the fact that they have managed to rally the sound forces of the nation into a

powerful popular front in the name of the interests of the whole nation.

The Fatherland Front, Its Development and Forthcoming Tasks, Works, vol. 13, p.458

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Parliamentary activity forms only a part of the overall activity and struggle of the Party... Its efforts in Parliament are effective only when they have the support of the organized power of the whole proletariat.

Report on the Activity of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Group (Left-Wing Socialists) to the 21st Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party, Works, vol. 4, p.155

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The interests of the communist cause require a *concrete*, and not an abstract *struggle against deviations*, a prompt and resolute resistance to the harmful tendencies which might arise, and a timely correction of mistakes.

The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries..., Works, vol. 10, p.187

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...sectarianism, content with its *doctrinaire narrow-mindedness and its divorce from the actual life of the masses, with its simplified methods* of solving, according to a set pattern, the most complex problems of the working class movement, is a sectarianism which professes to know all and considers it superfluous to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the working

class movement; in short, this is a sectarianism to which, as the saying goes, mountains are mere stepping stones.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..,
Works, vol. 10, p.119

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We are not afraid of openly pointing to the mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in our ranks, because we are a revolutionary party which knows that it can develop, grow and fulfil its tasks only if it rejects everything that hinders its development as a revolutionary party.

The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries...,
Works, vol. 10, p.188

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...the Party has to have an iron discipline which, though conscious and voluntary, is none the less an *iron discipline,* and which is and has to be based on our unity of purpose, on our common aims and tasks as a Party, on our Marxist science which leads us to victories.

The Historic Mission of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists),
Works, vol. 12, p.55

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The Third Communist International was born in the heat of the civil war... as an international organization of the proletariat for *revolutionary* action, and as a leading body of the world proletarian revolution.

A Big Step Forward, Works, vol. 5, p.532

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The Seventh Congress of the Communist International marked a turning-point in the policy of the communist parties in that it set as the basic and immediate task the struggle against fascism – the greatest threat to the working class and the working people, to peace and the freedom of all nations.

Political Report of the Central Committee...,
Works, vol. 14, p.257

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The Bulgarian Communist Party is a proletarian revolutionary party with an iron discipline and will remain so forever...

Rallying the Working Class Forces, Works, vol. 5, p.505

***

While in all other countries the communist parties, the parties of proletarian revolution, are set up, take shape, develop and grow strong, and the revolutionary rallying of the proletariat takes place amidst fierce in-fighting and splits within the socialist parties, only in our country we are witnessing the opposite process: the forces of the working class are rallying under the banner of our Party in which there were no internal disturbances during the postwar revolutionary period, because – from its creation to this day – it has always been a purely proletarian and revolutionary party.

Ibid., p.500

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Our Party, being a working class party... radically differs from many other political parties... It was born in the struggle, it was set up, has developed and is growing strong amidst constant struggle. Our Party has had an uninterrupted existence, either legal or clandestine, ever since its formation half a century ago. It must continue to exist and will certainly exist until the time when the necessity for any political party will have died out.

The Historic Mission of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Works, vol. 12, p.53

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I am of the opinion that the left-wing socialist past, the left-wing socialist probation period of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement *has not been a negative* but, on the contrary, a *positive experience.*

For a Turn in the Party, Works, vol. 9, p.467

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Our Party developed in a ceaseless struggle against alien, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences, and has championed the formation of our young working class as an independent class, as an independent social force with an ideology and organization of its own.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p.221

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The left-wing socialists' irreconcilability to reformism and the various reformist factions, their refusal to put up with bourgeois agents in the labour movement, their courageous stand in defence of the vital interests and rights of the working class – all this has made them a distinct revolutionary Marxist trend in the international workers' movement and in the Second International, a trend that, from among all left-wing, social-democratic trends, was the closest to bolshevism.

Ibid., p.227

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The Party's positive characteristics during its left-wing socialist period were its profound loyalty to Marxism, proletarian socialism and internationalism, its uncompromising class attitude towards the bourgeoisie and the latter's reformist tools, its unshakable faith in the forces and future of the working class and its conscious iron discipline.

Ibid., p.226

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The subordination of the party member's personal life, private interests and individual will to the interests and the will of the proletarian party was a law to the left-wing socialists.

Ibid.

***

We, Bulgarian communists (left-wing socialists) are gratified to note that we are in complete agreement with Lenin, that the principles and tactics of the Communist International are also our principles and tactics.

Preface to the Pamphlet 'Lenin Addressing the Workers in Europe and America', Works, vol. 5, p.229

***

Our Party unanimously and enthusiastically hailed the Great October Socialist Revolution, adopting its slogans and mobilizing our working people in defence of the young Soviet Socialist Republic.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p.235

***

At its 1919 Congress our Party renamed itself Communist Party. In contrast to the parties in many other countries, our Party joined the Communist International without splitting. What is more, it participated in its creation under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the immortal Lenin.

Ibid.

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The Bulgarian proletariat and its Party, which was driven underground, adopted the bolshevik teaching as an unshakeable basis of their activities and struggle, thus transforming the defeat of the September (1923)

Uprising into a prerequisite for the triumphant development of the revolutionary proletarian movement in Bulgaria.

Letter to the Austrian Workers, Works, vol. 9, p.410

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...unfortunately we, the closest collaborators of D. Blagoev, were unable after his death to make in good time the necessary Marxist-Leninist reassessment of all values of the revolutionary past of the Party and the Bulgarian proletariat and fully to benefit from the great assets of the revolutionary movement, in order to overcome more rapidly and once and for all the non-bolshevik vestiges of the period of left-wing socialism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p.251

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In its development, the Party had to follow a difficult, thorny and zigzagging path, marked by heroism and unshakable faith in the working class and the toilers. Passing through a long period of underground activities, suffering severe setbacks and tremendous casualties, our Party never flagged, nor gave up the fight.

Ibid., pp. 222-3

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The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern were instrumental in helping our Party to effect a turnabout and become truly bolshevik in character.

Ibid., p.258

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The selfless struggle and the consistent and tireless work of the Communist Party for the establishment of a united anti-fascist front brought the Party much closer to the masses, strengthened its ties with them and paved the way for its emergence as the true leader of the working people from town and village in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

Ibid., p.242

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During the hard times of monarcho-fascist dictatorship and German occupation, the Party fearlessly headed the fight against fascism and the foreign aggressors, organized and directed the partisan movement, created the Fatherland Front and, owing to its selfless and correct guidance, succeeded in leading the nation to the victorious September 9 and in winning the affection and confidence of the masses.

Ibid., p.223

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This period will be inscribed in gold letters in the annals of our Party and our people who can be justifiably proud of the scores of thousands of heroic partisans, men and women, and their assistants, whom the Party managed to organize and lead in battle against the German forces of occupation and the Bulgarian fascists.

Ibid., pp. 267-8

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Our Party does not need phrasemongers... or windbags, it needs serious, honest, sober and devoted fighters everywhere and in every sphere, fighters who are ready to sacrifice their time and efforts and, naturally, even their life, if necessary – as was the case during the partisan resistance in the past, during the struggle against fascism and the nazi occupiers.

A Powerful, Nation-Wide Demonstration for Peace and Democracy, for the Fatherland Front, for Our Invincible Popular Movement, Works, vol. 12, pp.127-8

***

If we want our Party to be ... a *Party with a historic mission,* we must purge our ranks of careerists and job-hunters, of people who put their power to wrong use. No corruption, no acts which might degrade its name must be tolerated within our Party. A firm hand is needed here!... As a Party we stand to lose nothing by such methods, we can only gain by them.

The Historic Mission of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Works, vol. 12, p.54

***

We harbour no illusions... that the road along which our Party is travelling will be smooth – as smooth as the pavement in front of the National Assembly or the Council of Ministers. We know that this road is hard and thorny, but it is the only salutary road for the working class, the people and our country.

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)..., Works, vol. 14, p.348

***

The struggle against corrupt bureaucratic practices or callousness should never be taken off the Party's agenda. Every single act of bureaucracy must be mercilessly exposed and censured.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, pp.338-9

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While always remaining in the front ranks of the fighting proletariat and pointing out to the masses the only correct path, i.e. the path of struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule and the establishment of a Soviet government, the communists, when determining their immediate political aims, should not attempt to skip those necessary stages of the mass movement in the course of which the working masses, through their own experience, outgrow their illusions and pass over to communism.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.70

***

A party member who is unwilling to learn, to educate himself and to progress, is not and cannot be a genuine member of our Party.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p.336

***

...only the communist who never divorces Marxist-Leninist theory from communist practice in the building of socialism, can be a full-fledged functionary of our Communist Party and a true leader of the working people.

Letter to the Students of the Higher Party School, June 12, 1949, Works, vol. 14, p.381

***

It is not enough to have the temperament of a revolutionary – one must also know how to use the weapon of revolutionary theory. It is not enough to be familiar with theory – one must also have a firm bolshevik character and the irreconcilability of a bolshevik. It is not enough to know what must be done – one must also have the courage to do it. One must be prepared to do all that truly serves the interests of the working class. One must be able completely to subordinate one's life to the interests of the proletariat.

What the True Revolutionary Should Be Like, Works, vol. 9, p.484

***

We would not be real revolutionaries if we did not learn from our own experience and the experience of the masses.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.128

***

We would not be revolutionary Marxists, Leninists... if we did not *reshape* our policies and tactics to suit the changes in the situation and in the world working class movement.

Ibid.

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The less the verbiage, the more the work – the better the results! The more critical you are of yourselves, the more promptly you eliminate your weaknesses and shortcomings, the more critical you are of everything that surrounds you – the better you will develop and fulfil your duties and tasks as activists of our Party.

A Powerful Nation-Wide Demonstration for Peace..., Works, vol. 12, p.127

***

...being fighters for the liberation of the oppressed masses in our countries, we are also members of the great and united international proletarian family, combatants of the great and united world communist movement; we are brothers who learn from each other, who help each other, who fight shoulder to shoulder and will triumph together.

Letter to a Young German Communist, June 28, 1934, G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p.294

***

The communists must not run ahead of the masses. They must raise slogans which correspond to the specific situation and which are understandable and

accessible to the masses and lead them to the solution of the problems as they come to a head.

The War and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries, Works, vol. 11, pp.46-7

***

Only the communists show the masses the way out of the inferno of imperialist war and the road to salvation from reaction...

May Day and the Struggle Against the Imperialist War, Works, vol. 11, p.86

***

Wherein does the strength of the communists lie? It lies in the fact that the communists know what they want – and what they want expresses the interests of the millions of working people. What is more, the strength of the communists lies in the fact that the salutary path which they map out for the masses is not a product of their imagination, it is not wishful thinking, but is a path blazed by the great historical experience of the working class which has already triumphed in one sixth of the globe.

Ibid., p.87

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We want the communists in every country to learn and apply in good time *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience of revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *to learn as quickly as possible how to swim in the turbulent waters of the*

class *struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as mere observers of the surging breakers in the expectation of fine weather.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.130

***

A revolutionary, a bolshevik has no right to die, he must live and fight under all circumstances. A man who lives with this thought, can endure the most terrible tortures. And you must not only be able to endure them, but should also try to make the best use of the time spent in prison, even when in manacles.

Dimitrov Speaks, Works, vol. 9, p.482

***

Fortunately, the communists are not as nearsighted as their opponents; neither do they lose their heads, even under the most trying circumstances.

Minutes of G. Dimitrov's Concluding Speech Before the Court, December 16, 1933, Works, vol. 9, pp.267-8

***

A proletarian revolutionary, when on trial, does not think of the danger that threatens him, or of his own life; the important thing for him are the interests of his class. He behaves there like a soldier of the revolution...

Thaelmann's Release from Prison Is a Matter of Honour for the World Proletariat, Works, vol. 9, p.377

***

We are *enemies of all cut-and-dried formulas.* We want to take into account the concrete situation at a given time and place, and not to act according to a *fixed pattern* always and everywhere, not to forget that communists cannot have *identical* stands in *different* circumstances.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.129

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When writing or speaking, always have in mind the rank-and-file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you!

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p.159

***

... you should be vigilant and should struggle resolutely against any deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, against any nationalistic deviation and Great-Bulgarian chauvinism, which could spell the ruin of our freedom, independence and the building of socialism in our country...

Letter to the Students of the Higher Party School..., Works, vol. 14, p.382

***

Now that our Party is at the helm of the state, its members filling key positions, and its prestige having soared to unprecedented heights, now that our working

people express their readiness to follow our Party and its general line..., the role of our organizations and their leaders becomes crucial.

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress..., Works, vol. 14, pp.342-3

***

The leadership of our Party has never had any hesitations or doubts as to the *leading* role of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Union in the democratic camp, as to the united front of Bulgaria with the Soviet Union, the people's democratic countries and the democratic movements in the capitalist countries.

Report to the 16th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the BWP (C), July 12, 1948, Works, vol. 14, p.163

***

... We must never forget that Party leaders may go, but the Party is and will always be. It is not the Party which should depend on the leaders, it is the leaders who should depend on the Party; and they will be genuine party leaders only insofar as they remain loyal to the invincible Marxist-Leninist teaching and insofar as they abide by the sound, collective will of the Party.

Ibid., p.177

TRADE UNIONS

... the trade unions... are the natural mass organizations of the proletariat.

...the proletarian revolution, both in the individual countries and on a world scale, can be successful only if the mass proletarian organizations – the trade unions – become revolutionary organizations, imbued with a communist spirit.

The First Balkan and Danubian Trade Union Conference, Works, vol. 5, pp.541-2

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The result of capitalist production relations, unemployment cannot be completely eliminated as long as the present order prevails. But the workers' organization is in a position to mitigate to a large extent the dire consequences of unemployment... The concerted efforts and funds of the trade union are, however, needed for that purpose.

The Need of Trade Unions in Bulgaria..., Works, vol. 1, pp. 115-6

***

...while the Communist Party should and does consist of convinced communists only, the workers' trade unions are mass proletarian organizations.

The Tasks of the Trade Union Movement, Works, vol. 6, p.223

***

The trade unions must be mass organizations; they should affiliate workers of all types of production and enterprises, irrespective of their views and convictions,

in the name of the struggle against the exploitation of capitalism.

The Second Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, Works, vol. 7, p.9

***

... the trade unions, implementing successfully their task of unflinching champions of the workers' interests, should at the same time be practical schools of communism for the proletariat.

The Most Pressing Tasks of the Trade Unions, Works, vol. 6, p.258

***

Organizing the masses and raising their class consciousness, *the trade unions must also wage a struggle in defence of the interests of these masses against capitalist exploitation. On the other hand, the success of this struggle also depends on the class consciousness and education of the militants.*

Ibid.

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...the complete victory of the proletarian revolution would be impossible, there could be no genuine and real proletarian dictatorship, and the socialist organization of production and the creation of a communist society would be inconceivable without trade unions, thoroughly imbued with the communist spirit and marching shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party.

Address to the Fourth All-Russian Trade Union Congress on Behalf of the International Council of Red Trade Unions, May 17, 1921, Works, vol. 6, pp.4-5

***

The historical development of the proletarian class struggle has not only refuted all bourgeois fallacies about trade union neutrality and independence from the political organization and struggle of the proletariat, but also imposes today a *still closer unity* between the trade unions and the Communist Party, a *complete organic unity* between the professional and political struggles of the proletariat *for the overthrow of capitalism, the setting up of a proletarian dictatorship and the realization of communism.*

The Tasks of the Trade Unions, Works, vol. 5, p.367

***

...we are resolutely opposed to any *dependence* of the trade unions on the bourgeoisie and shall not give up our principled point of view that it is inadmissible for the trade unions to adopt a neutral stand with regard to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p.173

***

There is no place in the working class movement for 'trade union neutrality', even when it assumes the form of a so-called organizational neutrality... Now that the professional struggle has become a class revolutionary struggle in its essence, the workers can achieve their unity only in trade unions which are organs of the revolution!

The Forthcoming Tasks of the Trade Union Movement, Works, vol. 5, p.236

***

In the present revolutionary epoch, the workers' trade unions face a very important task. They are called upon to rally the working masses in their respective trades and most actively to participate in the general offensive of the proletariat to conquer political power. The trade unions should be in the front ranks of the struggle waged by the revolutionary proletariat in all countries for the creation of a new world, a world of public ownership, equality, brotherhood and freedom. The workers' trade unions are vitally interested in *the earliest possible triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat!*

For Unity! Works, vol.5, p.255

***

We stand for united, class trade unions which are a major bulwark of the working class against the offensive of capitalism and fascism. Our only condition in uniting the trade unions is: *struggle against capitalism, against fascism, and for internal trade union democracy.*

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.93

***

The workers have nothing to divide among themselves; they must come to terms and rally themselves for a joint struggle against capitalism.

Who Is against Unity? Works, vol. 3, p.20

***

The highest interests of the proletariat call for complete unity of organization and struggle.

Statement to the Trade Union Conference, Held on August 12, 1915, Works, vol. 4, p.159

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... *the trade unions*... are the natural *mass* organizations of the proletariat...

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...every workers' strike affects directly or indirectly the interests of the whole trade union movement...

The Trade Unions and the Strike Movement, Works, vol. 3, p.181

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Together with the proletariat, *the trade unions themselves*, as it were, *come to power*, i.e. they become *part* of the government, *organs of Soviet government*.

The Tasks of the Trade Unions, Works, vol.5, p.368

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The victorious revolution of the Russian proletariat and the example of the Russian trade unions, which greatly contributed to the success of this revolution and are a powerful bulwark of proletarian dictatorship in Russia

and a major factor in the socialist organization of production, have illumined the new path which must be followed by the other trade unions...

The Constituent Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, Works, vol. 6, p.87

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It is high time to put an end to the *disparaging* attitude towards the organization of women workers; everybody ought to realize once and for all that no significant workers' struggles are possible without the participation of the women engaged in any sphere of labour, and that, if their participation is to be secured, it has to be preceded by the organization of *women workers* on a par with men.

Report of the General Workers' Trade Union in Bulgaria, Works, vol.5, p.435

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In contrast to many other countries, the setting up of the Social-Democratic Party, i.e. the political organization of the working class, preceded the emergence of the trade unions in Bulgaria. What is more, the trade unions in our country were set up on the initiative of the Party of the proletariat and with its direct participation.

The Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria, vol. 5, p.560

***

Our trade unions maintain close contacts with the Workers' Social-Democratic Party. They have been formed as a result of the Party's unstinted efforts and

sacrifices. And their sound organization, the good discipline and high consciousness of their members are largely due to the socialist work, carried out by the Party on their behalf.

The Conferences with Comrade K. Leghien, Works, vol. 3, p.23

***

... after the proletariat has taken over the political power, the trade unions will transfer the centre of their activity to the organization of economic life. They will have to prepare the proletariat for its role of organizer of production during the transition *from private, capitalist monopoly to state monopoly, and from the latter – to the socialist organization of the economy and to complete communism.*

The Tasks of the Trade Unions, Works, vol. 5, p.369

***

The trade unions are a reliable instrument of expropriation and socialization of the industrial enterprises and their control and management. They will be the best assistants of Soviet power in the organization of socialist production.

The Forthcoming Tasks of the Trade Union Movement, Works, vol. 5, p.236

***

... the working class and its trade unions are and have to be a mainstay of the people's Fatherland Front Government.

Place and Role of the Trade Unions in the New State, Works, vol. 12, p.16

***

It is upon the united and strong professional organization of the working class that largely depend both the final defeat of the fascist enemy at the front and in the rear, inside the country, and also the consolidation of the foundations of the people's Fatherland Front rule.

The Tasks of the General Workers' Trade Union, Works, vol. 11, p.175

***

The trade unions and the General Workers' Trade Union are not and cannot be regarded as a fifth wheel to the chariot of the Fatherland Front Government and the national economy. The trade unions ought to have a sense of responsibility and the awareness that they are an important social, economic, cultural and political factor in our country.

Place and Role of the Trade Unions in the New State, Works, vol. 12, p.16

***

Trade union congresses are no parades. They convene mainly in order to find out *what exactly is not up to standard* in the activity and struggles of the trade unions, *what are the reasons for this and how to eliminate them*, securing in this way the proper and rapid development of the trade unions and the successful fulfilment of their tasks.

The Trade Union Congresses, Works, vol. 7, p.143

***

Can the trade unions tolerate the lack of labour discipline which is to be observed in almost all government departments, where many office employees do not work efficiently but in a slapdash manner, wasting their time in idle talk, hindering the proper functioning of the state apparatus, when precisely its proper functioning is necessary for the rapid rehabilitation of the country's economy? Of course not!

Place and Role of the Trade Unions in the New State, Works, vol. 12, p.19

***

The members of every organization should be free to state their opinion and make critical remarks on any question *without fearing the consequences*... Tell them their mistakes, but also give them a chance to have their say. All that is sound and useful in their opinion, proposals and advice should be amply made use of...

Without the Working Class There Can Be No People's Democracy, Works, vol. 14, p.13

YOUTH, YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

... the problem of youth is not the concern of the Komsomol only. It is also the concern of the whole communist movement.

Youth must be won over to the revolutionary struggle by practical, day-to-day struggle in defence of its material and cultural interests, by linking this struggle with the revolutionary communist education of youth.

We Shall Not Give Our Youth Over to Fascism, Works, vol. 9, p.504

***

...we shall not give the working youth over to the bourgeoisie or to fascism! The youth must be with us, it must be united in the struggle, and then our cause, the cause of world revolution, will triumph.

Ibid., p.505

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Youth is educated in the process of work...

The Young Workers' League Should Be a School of Socialism, Works, vol. 12, p.73

***

The young people in the People's Democracies, the democratic youth in Western Europe and even in America, should learn above all from Soviet youth, from its patriotism, love of science and labour, and from its heroism which we witnessed during the past war.

A Talk with Representatives of Polish Youth, Works, vol. 14, p. 125

***

Lenin's Komsomol is a brilliant example, especially to the young people in the People's Democracies, Bulgaria included. Its rich experience teaches these young people

how to be firm, selfless and consistent in the fight and in building socialism.

To the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League in Moscow, Works, vol. 14, p.208

***

From the experience of the proletarian fighters, heroes and leaders, the young people draw added strength to overcome the difficulties and dangers along the path of their development, as well as fresh confidence in the victory.

Let Us Save Comrade Thaelmann, Works, vol. 9, p.488

***

Remember that the class enemy cannot be defeated without great courage, selflessness and revolutionary willpower in the fight.

Fight for the Unity of the Working Class and Against Fascism, the Enemy of Youth! Works, vol. 9, p.500

***

Bearing in mind the heroic struggle of our young people against fascism in the past, their important contribution to the historic cause of September 9, as well as their great labour and cultural achievements after September 9, there is no reason for us to doubt that they will do everything to... play their part with honour, no matter what difficulties they may encounter on their way.

To Bulgarian Youth, Works, vol. 12, p.184

***

Heroism is not only to be displayed in the direct clashes with the enemy, it should be displayed just as much in one's daily work...

Message of Greetings to the Sailors of the Red Fleet, December 16, 1934, Works, vol. 9, p.525

***

Our heroic young people have given a splendid example of labour enthusiasm, devotion to the People's Republic and a high sense of patriotic duty. Thus they have not only proved worthy of the gratitude of the Bulgarian people, but have also aroused the admiration of other democratic people and the friends of new Bulgaria abroad.

The General Union of Democratic Youth – Our People's Valiant Militant Detachment, Works, vol. 13, p.271

***

The labour exploits of our youth are a splendid example for the whole Bulgarian people who, for their part, are not only proud of their young people, but also surround them with sincere love and gratitude.

The Heroic Labour of Youth Is a Powerful Factor in Building Up the People's Republic and in Defending Its National Independence, Works, vol. 13, p. 283

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The heroic labour of youth is a powerful factor in building up the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in defending its national independence.

Ibid.

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It is not easy to find words that would adequately express our admiration of the youth brigades which help forge true friendship and a firm and upright character, as well as selfless patriots that are ridding themselves of the influence of capitalist degradation and corruption and are steadfast fighters for our people's prosperity and bright future.

Ibid.

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Exceptionally great credit goes to the brigaders' movement for training, steeling and shaping the new Bulgarian man and woman, who see no humiliation but only dignity and pride in physical labour, and to whom love and loyalty to the People's Republic are the highest law.

Ibid.

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When we assume obligations, we should leave no room for doubt that we will do all in our power to fulfil them.

Our Word Is a Law to Us! Works, vol. 13, pp.523-4

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...remember that learning alone is not enough; you must also cultivate in yourselves revolutionary resilience, bolshevik courage, persistence, firmness and an iron will.

Letter to the Leninist Komsomol of the Ukraine on the Occasion of the 15th Anniversary of Its Foundation. July, 1934, G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p.307

***

As Marxists we should know this simple truth: you plough, you sow and weed, and then you gather in a rich harvest. Many of our comrades, particularly the young people, still fail to grasp this properly.

The Young Workers' League Should Be a School of Socialism, Works, vol. 12, p.82

***

I am sincerely glad that our students, parallel with their assiduous studies, participate actively in the brigades... This happy combination of academic work and constructive labour is one of the main conditions for the all-round prosperity of our young People's Republic.

Letter to the General People's Union of Students, May 6, 1947. G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p. 472

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...schoolboys and girls should not develop one-sidedly to become narrowminded bookworms, isolated from and unfit for life; never losing touch with the life and progress of the people, they should grow to be physically fit and strong, have a broad culture and extensive knowledge and be capable and ready to contribute their share to the success of their country.

On the Tasks of Highschool Youth and the Unified School Youth Union, Works, vol. 13, p.97

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You should study thoroughly and persistently. What you study should be connected with life, with things that happen in life. Only then can knowledge be

embedded deeply in your memory, only then can it become your second nature. Otherwise it will be like a thin layer which would soon wear off.

Work and Patriotism, Works, vol. 13, p.369

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You should not be afraid of anything. Weaklings cannot be successful either in their studies, or in their private or public life.

Ibid.

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Pupils and *Septemvriiché* children with a bad conduct should be considered a disgrace to school youth in our People's Republic.

Ibid., p.363

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In your studies and in life, you should rely above all on your own forces.

Ibid., p. 369

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You should have faith in the just cause, in your own forces and in the forces of your people; you should cultivate this faith in yourselves. Only in this way shall you be able to overcome all hardships which may confront you on your way.

Ibid., p.370

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Children are the greatest asset of the Bulgarian nation.

To the Congress of Mothers of Large Families in Bulgaria, Works, vol. 12, p.217

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...the Komsomol forms part of the com(munist) movement; ... however, as an organization, the Komsomol *is not* and *cannot be considered* a *vanguard,* a 'front-rank detachment' of the Com(munist) Party. As an organization, the Komsomol, far from being a vanguard of the Party, is under the ideolog(ical) and political leadership of the Party.

To the Bureau-in-Exile of the Bulgarian Communist Party, December 5, 1928. G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p.182

***

The Komsomol should take day-to-day care of the growing generation – the reservoir which replenishes the youth movement with fresh forces.

Statement at a Conference with the International Children's Bureau, October 26, 1934. G. Dimitrov on Youth and the Pioneer Children, Sofia, 1966, p.94

***

The main task of the communist youth movement in the capitalist countries is to advance vigorously towards the realization of the *united front* by organizing and rallying the young generation of working people.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p. 96

***

The communists in the ranks of the youth organizations should know how to work in such a way as to influence the decisions of the organizations by winning over their members, and not by ordering them about on behalf of the Party.

Let Us Unite All the Forces of the Anti-Fascist Youth! Works, vol. 10, p.201

***

... the problem of youth is not the concern of the Komsomol only. *It is also the concern of the whole communist movement.*

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.96

***

Our hope – the hope of all the old bolsheviks –is in the young Leninists. It is they who will have the honour of taking up the cause of the international proletarian revolution and of bringing it to its final victory.

G. Dimitrov on Youth and the Pioneer Children, Sofia, 1966, p.40

***

... The Young Workers' League has waged a tireless and selfless struggle against the people's enemies and has sacrificed countless precious lives for our people's freedom in the course of decades, including the darkest periods of capitalist monarcho-fascist reaction in our country.

The General Union of Democratic Youth..., Works, vol. 13, p.274

***

The Bulgarian people's youth and its vanguard, the Young Workers' League, have recorded glorious pages in our people's heroic struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and the German occupiers. They have a major share in the historic cause of September 9, and have deserved the gratitude of all Bulgarian patriots, both men and women.

May Day Greetings to the People's Youth. G. Dimitrov on Youth and the Pioneer Children, Sofia, 1966, p. 253

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The *Septemvriiché* organization and the school are *invaluable educators of children – our greatest national asset, the future of our nation.*

Mothers' and Children's Day, Works, vol. 14, p. 32

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, PATRIOTISM

International solidarity without... patriotism is an empty phrase, patriotism without international solidarity is no genuine patriotism...

Far from conflicting with the struggle of the working people in the various countries for national, social and cultural freedom, proletarian internationalism, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and militant unity, provides the *support* that is necessary for the victory of this struggle.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.115

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Proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, 'get acclimatized' to each country in order to strike deep roots in the native soil.

Ibid., p.114

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The *national forms* of the proletarian class struggle and the workers' movement in the individual countries are not in contradiction with proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely with the help of these forms that *the international interests of the proletariat* can be defended with success.

Ibid.

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The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in close alliance* with the victorious proletariat of the great Soviet Union.

Ibid., p.115

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The *only* road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies across the revolutionary alliance of the working class in the imperialist countries and the national liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent countries, because, as *Marx* taught us, 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.'

Ibid.

The communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among their own people if they *do not at the same time show* in practice, in the mass movement, that they are struggling for the liberation of their nation from foreign domination. And again, the communists of an oppressor nation cannot do the necessary in order to educate the working masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressive policy of their'own' bourgeoisie and for the right to complete self-determination for the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they will not help the working people of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalistic prejudices.

Ibid., p.116

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If the working class in the capitalist countries is united with the working class of the Soviet Union, then it is invincible.

A Guarantee of Victory, Works, vol. 10, p. 419

***

Education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to one's country means, above all, making people aware of the decisive importance of a strong and viable united front of the People's Democracies and the great Soviet Union in the struggle against the onslaught of the aggressive forces of international reaction and imperialism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p.298

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The colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities can win their freedom *only* by fighting shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat of the imperialist countries.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p.115

***

We, communists, are *irreconcilable opponents in principle* of bourgeois nationalism under all its guises. But *we are no supporters of national nihilism* and should never act as such. One of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party is to educate the workers and all working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Ibid., p.112

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The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against the exploiters and oppressors in its own country do not contradict the interests of a nation's free and

happy future. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will lead to *the salvation of the nation*, opening before it the road to loftier heights. *By the very fact* that it is building its present class organizations and is consolidating its positions, *by the very fact* that it is defending democratic rights and liberties against fascism, *by the very fact* that it is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

Ibid., pp.114-5

***

There can be no genuine patriotism without international solidarity, just as there can be no genuine international solidarity without real patriotism.

For Sound Patriotism and Genuine International Solidarity, Works, vol. 11, p.183

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Genuine international solidarity can exist only when the individual democratic nations develop in freedom. Patriotism and international solidarity, in complete harmony with each other, are called upon to guarantee to all freedom-loving nations independence, lasting peace and security against fascist aggression.

Ibid., p. 184

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International solidarity without... patriotism is an empty phrase, patriotism without international solidarity is no genuine patriotism but Great-Bulgarian or other

kind of chauvinism, which can only lead the people to national disaster.

Ibid., p. 183

***

The example of the fallen heroes will always be a source from which we, the fighters who have remained alive, will draw fresh strength in our work for the well-being of the Bulgarian people and for the building of a people's republic in Bulgaria.

Eternal Glory to the Nation's Heroes! Works, vol. 12, p.160

***

To promote among our people a feeling of sound patriotism and genuine international solidarity with all working people – this is our ever-present task, a task of all real Bulgarian patriots in the name of the freedom, prosperity and might of new Bulgaria.

For Sound Patriotism..., Works, vol. 11. p.184

***

Our people triumphed on September 9 and took their destinies into their own hands thanks to their patriotic unity, forged by the Fatherland Front.

Only Those Who Are Not Afraid of Difficulties Will Have a Happy Future, Works, vol. 11, p.281

***

We must educate our people... in a spirit of love for their homeland, such as Botev had in his heart, of devotion to their country, such as the tens of thousands of known and unknown heroes who gave their lives for our freedom and for the People's Republic of Bulgaria, cherished in their hearts.

The Bulgarian-Polish Treaty of Alliance Lays the Sound Foundations of Far-Reaching Cooperation for the Good of the Two Fraternal Peoples, for the Good of World Peace and Democracy, Works, vol. 14, p.159

***

Combating all manifestations of nationalism, we must educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to their country, i.e. in a spirit of genuine patriotism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 297-8

PEACE,
WAR

It is not enough to want peace.
It is necessary to fight for peace.

The nations thirst for peace. But they thirst for a just, democratic and lasting peace, based on mutual respect and cooperation among them, a peace which will provide effective guarantees against imperialist aggressors.

The Fatherland Front, Its Development and Forthcoming Tasks, Works, vol. 13, p. 448

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It is not enough *to want* peace. It is necessary *to fight* for peace.

The United Front of the Fight for Peace, Works, vol. 10, p.253

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The preservation of peace is fatal to fascism...

Ibid., p. 264

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... the preservation of peace assists the growth of the forces of the proletariat, the forces of revolution...

Ibid.

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... the preservation of peace undermines the foundations of the capitalist system and hastens the victory of socialism.

Ibid.

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The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world!

Ibid., p. 265

***

It is true that imperialist wars are a product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all wars, but it is also true that, by their militant actions, the working masses can prevent an imperialist war.

The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries..., Works, vol. 10, p. 181

***

The whole globe should be encompassed by such a network of organizations of the friends of peace, by such a mighty movement of international solidarity and such effective undertakings of a united international policy of the proletariat for the preservation of peace, as will effectively stay the criminal hands of the warmongers.

The United Front of the Fight for Peace, Works, vol. 10, pp. 252-3

***

Only the unity of action of the international proletariat, rallying around it all strata of the working people, all progressive and democratic elements and all true partisans of peace, is in a position to check the rabid fascists, who have become too big for their boots, and frustrate their criminal schemes once and for all.

International Proletarian Unity..., Works, vol. 10, p. 321

***

...*the great land of socialism* is the major and *decisive force, the most powerful support* of the struggle of the international proletariat for peace.

May Day and the Struggle Against Imperialist War, Works, vol. 11, pp. 80-1

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The historic mission of the international proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war makes it imperative to:

first, rally the militant forces of the working class in each individual country;

second, set up a real popular front of the working people under the leadership of the working class;

third, establish unity of action of the proletariat on an international scale and carry out an independent and unified international policy of struggle against imperialist war;

fourth, combine the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries with the anti-imperialist movement in the colonial and dependent countries;

fifth, rally the working people around the great land of socialism...

Ibid., pp. 81-2

***

East against West! This is absolutely misleading. Actually, there is the camp of imperialist reaction and the fomentors of a new world war, on the one hand, and the camp of democracy and peace, on the other.

The Fatherland Front, Its Development and Forthcoming Tasks, Works, vol. 13, p. 452

***

While imperialism obstructs the rehabilitation of our national economy and the establishment of peace among nations, the People's Democracies together with the Soviet Union are paving the way to lasting, democratic peace and the prosperity of all peoples.

A New Link in the System of Our National and State Security, Works, vol. 13, pp. 442-3

***

It is not only the peoples in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies that are ranging themselves on the peace front, but also the overwhelming majority of the peoples in the capitalist countries and the colonies.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 304

***

The forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world are incomparably greater than the forces of imperialist aggression and the fomentors of new wars.

Today We Have Successfully Consolidated the Historic Work of the Bled Conference, Works, vol. 13, p. 294

***

The anti-imperialist front is growing stronger all the time. Today it is already an unsurmountable force. The masses and the anti-imperialist forces in all countries, in the front ranks of which are the fraternal Soviet Union and all communist parties, will be able to thwart

the militaristic machinations of the aggressive imperialists and a lasting democratic peace will be ensured for the world.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 306

***

The future of the world depends upon the unity of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces of peace, upon their resolve to fight for peace and security, for genuine democracy and socialism.

The October Socialist Revolution Opened Before Mankind the Road to True Democracy and Socialism, Works, vol. 14, p. 212

***

We must transform the Balkans from a powder keg into a sound foundation for and a serious factor of peace and democracy in the world.

We Shall March Forward with Our Common Friend, the USSR, Works, vol. 13, pp. 217-8

***

War preparations have a logic of their own. They could easily create an unforeseen situation in which guns may start firing of their own accord.

The Graeco-Turkish Conflict, Works, vol. 8, p. 46

***

In time of war all communist parties, all working class organizations and leaders are put to a severe test. Weaklings or those who lack faith will fall off at the

sharp turns. Those who are alien to the working class, the careerists, renegades, the chance adherents to the communist parties will be thrown overboard. But the communist parties themselves will undoubtedly pass the test. They will further steel themselves in the coming battles. New hundreds of thousands of fighters for the cause of the working class will join the ranks of the communist army.

War and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries, Works, vol. 11, p. 47

***

War rouses to action the strata which under 'peaceful' conditions 'have kept away from politics' and of whose passiveness the bourgeoisie had availed itself in order to maintain its domination. The chances of the working class to succeed in its struggle increase thanks to the fact that it can draw fresh forces from the inexhaustible sources of the people, while the reserves of the bourgeoisie are drying up and will continue to do so.

May Day and the Struggle Against Imperialist War, Works, vol. 11, p.77

***

The Bulgarian people will never forget the epoch-making feat of the Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War. They will always feel eternal gratitude for the Soviet Army, their great liberator.

The Bulgarian People Will Feel Eternal Gratitude for the Soviet Army, Works, vol. 13, p. 76

***

By participating in the defeat of nazi Germany, the Bulgarian people... removed the stigma of nazi satellite and won the sympathies and support of world democratic public opinion.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 473

***

A nation which does not have... a people's army in the actual sense of the word, an army trained in modern military science and educated in the spirit of people's democracy... is not an organized nation. It can at any time be used by foreign interests.

In Our People's Republic the Army Is an Integral Part of the People, Works, vol. 14, p. 92

***

We should never forget our bitter experience of the past, when on June 9, 1923 the army was misled and used against our people as a tool in the perpetration of a military-fascist coup d'état.

Ibid.

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In our People's Republic, just as in the other people's republics and, more particularly, in the great Soviet Union, the army... is not divorced from the people. It is a component, integral and inseparable part of the people.

Ibid., p. 91

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM

...thanks to the powerful support of the Soviet Union... we have preserved the territorial integrity of our country and have guaranteed our national independence.

We must... prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the communist parties that, because it is opposed to every manner of bondage and national oppression, the proletariat is the *only* true fighter for the people's freedom and independence.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., *Works, vol. 10, p. 114*

***

The colonial and dependent world has launched a great campaign for freedom and independence.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 456

***

The glorious partisans and those who gave them shelter and help have a special merit in the victory over fascism. Our nation will never forget this; it will always cherish the memory of the heroes who fell for the freedom and independence of our country.

Ibid., pp. 468-9

***

The more closely we are united as a people, the stronger we are economically, politically and culturally, the more powerful we are from a military viewpoint, having an invincible army and an unflinching spirit, and the stronger ties we have with the freedom-loving nations, the less insolent will our foreign enemies be in

trying to violate our freedom, independence and sacred frontiers and the territorial integrity of our country, and the less likely will they be to foment a new war.

In Our People's Republic the Army..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 93-4

***

It goes without saying that in a people's democracy which has been won by the blood of many thousands of valiant fighters against fascism and at the cost of tremendous sufferings by the Bulgarian people, there is and there can be no room for the kind of 'freedom' that might impair the interests of the Bulgarian people or be of service to their enemies.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 481

REACTION, FASCISM

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people!

... the forces of international reaction are on the decline, for nothing can go on living which is not fed by a life-giving sap, which does not have strong and deep roots – and reaction has not got them. It may put up temporary obstacles, it may try and sting like a viper, but it can score no lasting success.

Shoulder to Shoulder Ever Forward, in Spite of All! Works, vol. 13, p. 133

***

Anti-communism served as a smoke screen of Hitler's aggression, of the German imperialists' drive for world domination... and now the American imperialists and their official representatives are also trying to use anti-communism as a smoke screen.

How to Avert a New Munich, Works, vol. 13, p. 248

***

After the rout of the fascist aggressors, the centre of world reaction shifted to the United States.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 301

***

To judge by its membership or the nature of its acts, the opposition is not a Bulgarian opposition, but rather a foreign agency! It is actually the agency of reaction and of predatory big business.

The Fatherland Front Will Win in Spite of All! Works, vol. 12, pp. 364-5

***

An opposition of various shades and speaking various tongues is pitted against the Fatherland Front; it is single-minded only in its desire to negate and destroy

the great cause of September 9 and break the unity of the Bulgarian people.

For a Nation-Wide Victory Over Reaction and the Ill-Wishers of New Bulgaria, Works, vol. 11, p. 304

***

An eloquent proof of the anti-popular and anti-Bulgarian nature of the opposition... is that it pins all its hopes of coming to power on foreign interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs.

Ibid., p. 305

***

Whoever in Bulgaria thinks that he can do anything good for his people by fighting against the working class or by his resentment of, or hostility to the communists, is either an enemy of the people or a fool.

What Is Needed for the Success of the Shockworkers' Movement..., Works, vol. 13, p. 28

***

Those in our country who try to plot and conspire with the help of foreign powers, will have their fingers burnt.

The Printed Word Is a Mighty Weapon, Works, vol. 13, p. 139

***

No protection or threats from abroad can save the saboteurs, wreckers, spies and traitors, who are trying to dig a grave for our country, from the stern but just

hand of the sovereign Bulgarian courts of justice which serve only the people and implement their supreme will.

Message of Greetings to the Working People on the Occasion of September 9, Works, vol. 13, p. 242

***

...if the onslaught of domestic and international reaction... did not take the form of overt armed actions, this was due to the resolute measures of the People's Government, to the vigilance and energy of our Party, and also, to a considerable extent, to the presence on our soil of units of the Soviet Army of Liberation, a presence which practically paralysed reaction.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 284

***

... the offensive of capitalism is organically linked with fascism which, though it emerged in the specific conditions of Italy, yet like the capitalistoffensive itself has become an international phenomenon and is at present the last resort of the bourgeoisie in its efforts to maintain its class domination.

The Struggle Against the Offensive of Capitalism, Works, vol. 7, p. 51

***

...*fascism* which is a complete negation of democracy and of all political rights and freedoms of the masses, is now being resorted to by the capitalists and their parties as the *last* means of preserving their class rule and of keeping state power in their hands.

The United Front and Bourgeois Reaction, Works, vol. 7, p. 209

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Fascism, far from being only *anti-communist,* is also *anti-popular.*

Ibid., p. 210

***

...fascism is no *local, temporary* or *transient* phenomenon. It is a *system* of class rule of the capitalist bourgeoisie and its dictatorship in the epoch of imperialism and social revolution.

Measures for Combating Fascism and the Yellow Trade Unions, Works, vol. 8, p. 340

***

Relying on its control over state power, which it has usurped, on the armed forces of the bourgeoisie and the financial power of the banks, fascism attempts to infiltrate the masses and create there its own ideological, political and organizational base.

Ibid., p. 344

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As far as ideology is concerned, fascism uses mainly the ideas of *nationalism* and *chauvinism,* trying to pit local workers against those who have come from other countries, to deceive more particularly the unemployed and turn the attention of the masses *from domestic to foreign problems,* inciting the masses against other nations, fanning national-chauvinistic passions and

painting rosy pictures about the improvement of working class conditions after neighbouring lands and territories have been conquered.

Ibid., p. 346

***

Fascism has put forward the theory of collaboration between capitalists and workers for the stabilization of capitalism and the streamlining of production; the theory of harmony between the classes, of the community of their interests, of the elimination of class struggle and the replacement of strikes by compulsory arbitration, as well as of the transformation of the trade unions into organs of bourgeois state power.

Ibid.

***

Surpassing in cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, *fascism adapts* its demagogy to the *specific features* of each country, and even to those of the various social strata in one and the same country.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p. 34

***

Domination of fascism in the trade union movement would mean a split in the movement, the suppression of class trade unions and an end to the independent trade union movement of the proletariat.

Measures for Combating Fascism..., Works, vol. 8, p. 348

***

Fascists do not leave alone even small children.

A Talk with Leningrad Pioneer Children, Works, vol. 9, p. 495

***

Fascism is the power of finance capital. It is an organization of terroristic vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and the intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism means jingoism of the most brutal kind which foments bestial hatred of other nations.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vo.. 10, p. 30

***

The coming of fascism to power *is not an ordinary substitution* of one bourgeois govemment for another, but the *replacement* of one state form of class domination by the bourgeoisie, i.e. bourgeois democracy, by another, i.e. overt terroristic dictatorship.

Ibid., p. 31

***

... fascism is the most ferocious assault of capitalism on the working people's masses;
fascism means unbridled chauvinism and predatory war;
fascism means rabid reaction and counter-revolution;
fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people!

Ibid., p. 34

***

... since it is a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, fascism must inevitably come into conflict with its mass social base...

Ibid., p. 76

***

The most reactionary type of fascism is the *German type*. It has the effrontery to call itself national-socialism, though it has nothing in common with socialism. German fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is bestial chauvinism. It is a state system of political gangsterism, a system of provocations and torture practised on the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is mediaeval in its barbarity and bestiality. It is unbridled aggression against the other nations and countries.

Ibid., p. 29

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German fascism acts as *the spearhead of international counter-revolution*, as *the chief instigator of imperialist wars* and *the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great country which the working people in the whole world look upon as their own.*

Ibid.

***

Fascism destroyed the legal workers' organizations, but in their stead underground ones sprang up. In trying to suppress and crush the ranks of the working class by

violence, it unwittingly drives the workers to join forces in a united proletarian front. By robbing and oppressing the peasants and the petty urban bourgeoisie, fascism drives these strata into an alliance with the proletariat, into establishing an anti-fascist popular front.

The Country of Socialism and the Fight of the International Proletariat, Works, vol. 11, p. 13

***

...*fascism will not go of its own accord.* It will not desist in its efforts to foment war. The reactionary bourgeoisie will not voluntarily change its policy. The way of fascism can be barred, war can be warded off and reaction can be bridled only by the resolute struggle of the millions of workers and working people.

Ibid., p. 14

***

It is necessary to go into, study and ascertain the national peculiarities, the specific features of fascism in each individual country and, accordingly, to map out the methods of action and forms of struggle against it.

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p. 136

***

Fascism will not disintegrate automatically. Only the revolutionary activity of the working class can help to take advantage of the conflicts which inevitably arise within the bourgeois camp in order to undermine the fascist dictatorship and overthrow it.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p. 49

***

...heroism alone is not enough. It must be combined with day-to-day work among the masses and a concrete struggle against fascism, so as to achieve the most tangible results in this sphere.

Ibid., p. 75

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Wishful thinking is particularly dangerous in our struggle against fascist dictatorship. We must proceed from facts, from concrete situations.

Ibid.

***

... there can be no peace and democracy without the complete and final destruction of fascism.

Speech at Lyublianska Station, July 30, 1947, Works, vol. 13, p. 227

***

The eradication of fascism will not be completed without challenging the domination of big business...

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 273

THE REICHSTAG FIRE TRIAL

'No weakening!'

The setting of the Reichstag on fire was meant to be and actually became the signal for unleashing a terroristic campaign by German fascism against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The fascist provocation on February 27, 1933 was to be the signal for the 'destruction' of Marxism, i.e. of the revolutionary movement of the German proletariat.

A Victory of Proletarian Solidarity, Works, vol. 9, p. 379

***

I am deeply convinced that the Reichstag fire could have only been the work of madmen or of the worst enemies of communism who, by this act, intended to create an atmosphere conducive to the crushing of the workers' movement and of the Communist Party in Germany.

Statement to the Police Investigating Authorities, March 20, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 7

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... the Reichstag fire... was to be the means of surmounting the internal difficulties in the so-called 'national camp', of foiling the organization of a united militant front of communist, social-democratic and Christian workers and of unleashing and justifying a campaign of terror against the workers' movement and its vanguard – the German Communist Party.

To Dr. Bünger, President of the 4th Penal Department of the Imperial Court, December 2, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 225

***

What were the concrete tasks which German fascism set itself in staging the Reichstag Fire Trial in Leipzig? *First*, to exonerate the fascist incendiaries and hangmen inside the country and abroad, to cover up for the real incendiaries by blaming the communists.
Second, to justify the barbarous terror and the monstrous outrages committed against the revolutionary proletariat...
Third, the trial was to provide fuel for a new anti-communist campaign and prepare the ground for a new *monstrous trial against the German Communist Party.*
Fourth, the trial was intended to prove that the fascist government was 'victoriously' fighting against world communism and had saved capitalist Europe from the communist 'peril' just in time.

A Victory of Proletarian Solidarity, Works, vol. 9, p. 381

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In Leipzig, German fascism expected to be universally recognized as a 'saviour'. It becomes clear from the indictment, which during the trial and the three-month preliminary investigation was kept in strict secrecy, that the trial was not aimed solely against communism in Germany, but primarily against the Communist International and the Soviet Union as well.

Ibid., p. 380

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It is precisely political trials that most vividly demonstrate how justice could be used as a political instrument.

To Dr. Paul Teichert, Lawyer, August 1, 1933, Works, vol. 9, pp. 52-3

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The dock is a post in the fighting line. Various manoeuvres are permitted before the police or the investigating authorities; however, in a political trial there are no manoeuvres but only political struggle. My standpoint was that I should never retreat, that I should never rely on someone else's defence, or follow blindly the stipulations of the laws, but should defend myself as a communist and, in so doing, defend the cause of communism.

Thaelmann's Release from Prison... Works, vol. 9, p.377

***

The fascists did not succeed in producing before the Court a single witness from among the working class, the active participants in Germany's proletarian movement or responsible communist functionaries. This was the prosecution's Achilles' heel. On the other hand, this fact brilliantly demonstrated to the whole world the firmness, loyalty and boundless devotion of the German workers to the cause of the proletarian revolution, the cause of communism and the Communist International.

A Victory of Proletarian Solidarity, Works, vol. 9, p. 383

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The very fact that the fascists were unable to find a single witness from among the workers, as they wished, the very fact that the workers summoned as witnesses, despite threats and tortures, behaved before the Court with a fortitude worthy of proletarians, is a testimony to the utter fiasco of the doubting Thomases and op-

portunistic pessimists in Germany and elsewhere as regards the prospects of a proletarian revolution in Germany after the fascists had come to power.

Ibid.,

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At the Reichstag Fire Trial, fascism made its début in the role of European gendarme against communism. This début ended disastrously for the fascists.

Ibid.

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As a communist, a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist International, I am in principle against individual terroristic acts, against senseless arson, because they are incompatible with the communist principles and methods of mass work and economic and political struggle, and because they can only be harmful to the emancipation movement of the proletariat, to the communist cause.

Statement to the Police Investigating Authorities, March 20, 1933, Works, vol. 9, pp. 6-7

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May 1
Noted down: 'Day of National Labour' (from the newspapers)
'Moscow – Berlin, two antipodes in history.' And I am imprisoned at Moabit – in chains! How disgusting and sad. However... Danton: 'No weakening'! ...

Excerpts from G. Dimitrov's Diary in Prison, Works, vol. 9, p. 300

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May 3 ...
In prison I read some 6,700 pages on German history..
...for a whole month in heavy manacles? For how long?

Ibid., pp. 300-3

***

I am doing my best to avail myself as much as possible of the time spent in prison, and for several months now I have been mainly busy with a detailed study of German history. This study is very interesting and instructive; moreover, it clearly shows the link between the past of the German people and present events in Germany, which affect the whole world, and it greatly contributes to the proper elucidation of these developments and of their transient character as a return to the past in many respects.

Letter to Miss Rosa Fleischmann, August 16, 1933, Works, vol. 9, pp. 75-6

***

It is difficult to imagine a harsher prison regime than the one I was subjected to during the first five months after my arrest. And yet I can confidently say that even under the harshest regime a prisoner – provided he has the will and ability – may learn a lot, and a lot can be done for his further training and education.

Letter to Lyubcho Barumov, January 8, 1934. G. Dimitrov, Letters, 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p. 267

***

I am convinced that my position as a defendant in this case is incomparably easier than that of the prosecutor who will have to present the indictment before the Court and before public opinion and be held responsible for it. I do not envy him in the least!

To Dr. Wille, Lawyer, August 13, 1933, Works, vol. 9, pp. 71-2

***

It is true that I am a bolshevik, a proletarian revolutionary.

It is also true that, as a member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, *I am a responsible and leading communist.*

And I am fully prepared *to accept the responsibility for all decisions, documents and acts of my Bulgarian Party and of the Communist International.*

Dimitrov's Notes for His First Speech in Court, Works, vol. 9, p. 115

***

I think that I must act before the Imperial Court like a defendant in a political trial and not like a soldier in the barracks or a prisoner of war in a concentration camp.

To Dr. Bünger, President of the 4th Penal Department of the Imperial Court, October 12, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 133

***

Being wrongly accused and, what is more, being a communist and member of the Communist International, I am most deeply interested in the complete elucidation

of the case of the Reichstag fire, and at the same time in the apprehension of the vanished Mephistopheles of the fire.

Ibid., p. 134

***

It is my inalienable right to defend myself and to take an active part in the trial, both as an accused and as a person who defends himself.

Ibid.

***

I am defending myself as an accused communist.
I am defending my honour of a communist and a revolutionary.
I am defending my ideas, my communist convictions.
I am defending the substance and meaning of my whole life.
For these reasons, every word I say before this Court is, if I may put it that way, *blood of my own blood and flesh of my own flesh.*

Minutes of G. Dimitrov's Concluding Speech Before the Court, December 16, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 258

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I have often been reproached for not taking the highest court in Germany seriously. This is absolutely unjustified...
I can say with clear conscience that what I have stated before the Court and, therefore, what I have stated to the public on all problems is the truth and nothing but

the truth. As regards my Party, which has been forced underground, I refused to make any statements. I have always spoken in all seriousness and from an inner conviction.

Ibid., pp. 258-9

***

It may be that my defence before this Court has had a certain propaganda effect. It is also possible that my conduct before this Court may serve as an example to other accused communists. But that was not the aim of my defence. My aim was to refute the accusation that Dimitrov, Torgler, Popov and Tanev, that the German Communist Party and the Communist International had anything to do with the fire.

Ibid., p. 259

***

At times, when I felt particularly oppressed – and there were such times – as I was kept in manacles day and night, I often recalled the fortitude and endurance of the old Russian bolsheviks.

We Shall Be Again in Soviet Germany, Works, vol. 9, p. 372

***

The solidarity, affection and support, which reached us across the walls of the fascist prison like sun rays, helped us to endure more easily all sufferings and tortures.

Ibid.

***

The first thing we wish to express is our boundless, wholehearted gratitude to the international proletariat, to the broadest masses of working people in all coun-

tries, to the honest intelligentsia who fought for our release. Naturally, our gratitude is first and foremost to be extended to... the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, our socialist state.

Interview with Representatives of the Soviet and Foreign Press, Works, vol. 9, pp. 358-9

***

During the Reichstag Fire Trial (and many times before that, too) I was convinced that if a revolutionary was to do his duty, he had to have the following qualities: knowledge, Marxist-Leninist knowledge, *the ability to use this knowledge* as a weapon in the fight with the enemy, *endurance and courage.*

Message of Greetings to the Sailors of the Red Fleet, December 16, 1934, Works, vol. 9, p. 525

***

The trial was a touchstone for the Communist Party and the revolutionary proletariat, as well as for the working class, whose best men are wasting away in concentration camps and the fascist prisons. It was a brilliant demonstration of loyalty to its banner, of complete devotion to revolutionary duty and proletarian discipline.

A Victory of Proletarian Solidarity, Works, vol. 9, p. 383

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The warm sympathy of the German working class towards us during the trial, its solidarity with my speeches which unmasked the fascist incendiaries, the

sympathy which I felt in Court or whenever I appeared under escort, and even in prison, the sympathies expressed in letters and messages, which reached me by unknown channels in spite of all police precautions – all this is an indisputable proof that despite the terrible blows which the German working class has suffered... it has not lost courage, but continues the struggle under extremely hard conditions.

Ibid., pp. 383-4

***

Through us, the defendants in the trial, the German revolutionary proletariat was fighting against fascism and its fight set in motion the proletariat the world over. It inspired the struggle of the Austrian workers against fascism, as well as the French workers' struggle. *It gave an impetus to the fight against fascism throughout the world and led to its intensification.* The workers in Germany and throughout the world were inspired and encouraged as they followed our struggle against fascism in Court, just as we, the defendants in the trial, were inspired and encouraged by the realization that millions of workers in Germany and other countries were supporting us.

Ibid., p. 385

***

The mobilization of the efforts of the German working masses, of the proletariat throughout the world, the proletariat of the Soviet Union, of all honest people and world public opinion – all this turned the Reichstag Fire

Trial into a battlefield, and the blow aimed at communism boomeranged with devastating force on German fascism.

Ibid., pp. 384-5

***

During all this time, we felt that there existed an unbreakable link between the dock, from where we were fighting against fascism, and the struggle of the proletariat in Germany and elsewhere. Not only the response, which our struggle found throughout the world, but also the sympathy, with which we were surrounded in the other countries, bear testimony to this.

Ibid., p. 385

***

... the trial and everything that happened beyond the four walls of the courtroom and throughout the world, proved that *international solidarity was very much alive, that it was a powerful force.*

Ibid., p. 384

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The powerful wave of international solidarity of the workers, the working people and progressive intelligentsia, irrespective of their party or organizational affiliations, was the force which made it possible to win the victory over German fascism at the Reichstag Fire Trial...

In a United Front of Struggle Against Fascism and the Warmongers, Works, vol. 10, p. 21

***

In the worst moments in prison and before the fascist court, I always remembered that, in spite of everything, there was Moscow in the world – the capital of that great land, the land of proletarian revolution, the land of proletarian dictatorship!

We Shall Be Again in Soviet Germany! Works, vol. 9, p. 372

***

We left Germany this morning. We hate German fascism only, but we nurture deep and abiding proletarian sympathy for the German proletariat, for the German revolutionary workers, for the German communists.

Interview..., Works, vol. 9, p. 363

WORKERS',
POPULAR,
UNITED FRONT

FATHERLAND FRONT

Mass work, mass struggle, mass resistance, a united front, no adventures! These are the alpha and omega of communist tactics.

... *the united front is dictated by the vital interests of the proletariat throughout the world.*

The Capitalist Offensive, Works, vol. 6, p. 186

***

... the united front of the proletarian masses will not be achieved in the name of abstract aims and ideals which are not yet comprehensible to the broad masses, but on the basis of the *everyday needs and interests* of the working masses.

The Second Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, Works, vol. 7, p. 7

***

Neither the repelling of the offensive of capitalism, nor the elimination of brutal fascism, nor the staving off of a new imperialist war, nor, finally, the triumph of the liberating proletarian revolution *would be possible* without a *united workers' front,* without the joint actions of all proletarians and working people from town and village against capitalism.

The United Workers' Front, Works, vol. 7, pp. 100-1

***

In practice, the united front does not mean a retreat from the general party principles, nor an abandonment of the party's individuality, but merely the acceptance of a common, concrete, anti-capitalist programme in defence of the working people and a joint struggle to implement this programme.

The United Front and the Offensive of Capitalism, Works, vol. 7, p. 206

***

The united front and class collaboration, far from being identical, are, on the contrary, two *profoundly opposed, quite incompatible* and *mutually exclusive tactics.*

United Front or Class Collaboration, Works, vol. 7, p. 223

***

... the united front of labour, far from running counter to the uncompromising class struggle between labour and capital, is actually one of the forms in which this struggle is conducted under specific circumstances.

Ibid., pp. 225-6

***

The victory over the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a worker-peasant government are only possible on the basis of an unshakable alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry.

The Bulgarian Lesson, Works, vol. 8, p. 159

***

Mass work, mass struggle, mass resistance, a united front, no adventures! These are the alpha and omega of communist tactics.

Minutes of G. Dimitrov's Concluding Speech..., Works, vol. 9, p. 269

***

In connection with the Reichstag Fire Trial, a world-wide united front in defenceof the innocentcommunists was created, although no formal pact existed to that effect.

Proletarian Unity of Action in the Struggle Against Fascism and War,
Works, vol. 10, p. 14

***

Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is that powerful weapon which makes the working class capable not only of successful defence but also of successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International...,
Works, vol. 10, p. 53

***

The establishment of unity of action in all sections of the working class, irrespective of the party or organization to which they belong, is necessary *even before the majority of the working class has been united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution.*

Ibid., pp. 54-5

***

The defence of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defence of the working class against fascism, must be the *starting point* and the *essence* of the united front in all capitalist countries.

Ibid., p. 59

***

It goes without saying that the practical realization of a united front will take *various* forms in various countries, depending on the situation and character of the workers' organizations and their political level, on the situation in the particular country, on the changes taking place in the international working class movement, etc.

Ibid., p. 61

***

It is particularly necessary to avoid a schematic application of the united front tactics without keeping in mind the correlation of class forces and the concrete conditions obtaining in each individual country...

The Struggle for a United Front, Works, vol. 9, p. 517

***

Actually, only the Communist Party is the initiator, organizer and driving force of the united front of the working class.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p. 117

***

When fighting for the establishment of a united proletarian front, the communists must never lose sight of the revolutionary perspective; they must be able to link the united front tactics with the strategic task, namely the struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution, for a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Struggle for a United Front, Works, vol. 9, p. 517

***

In connection with the changed situation, (there is) also the need to change our united front tactics. Instead of applying them only as a manoeuvre in unmasking social-democracy, without making an earnest attempt to create real unity among the workers in the struggle, we must turn them into an effective instrument in the mass struggle against the fascist offensive.

Letter to the Commission, Set Up to Discuss the Plan of G. Dimitrov's Report to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern..., June, 1934. G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p. 299

***

It is necessary to reject the thesis that the united front can be built only from below, and to cease considering as opportunism every simultaneous approach to the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party.

Ibid., p. 300

***

The reaching of an agreement with the social-democratic parties for a joint struggle against the onslaught of capitalism, against fascism and war, as a way of realizing the united proletarian front, in no way means to postpone or abate our struggle against social-democracy as an ideology and practice of collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The Struggle for a United Front, Works, vol. 9, pp. 516-7

***

Their attitude to the united front is the watershed between the reactionary sections of social-democracy and the sections that are becoming revolutionary.

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p. 147

***

Whoever passes over in silence or covers up the harmful acts of the reactionary leaders in the ranks of the workers' movement, is not helping the cause of working class unity. Whoever abandons, allegedly in the interest of the united proletarian front, the struggle against its enemies and the censuring of reformism which makes the workers' movement subservient to the interests of the bourgeoisie, is doing the working class an ill-service.

International Proletarian Unity..., Works, vol. 10, p. 330

***

Day-to-day, concrete and large-scale struggle, waged in an organized and resolute manner, and passing over from the defensive to an offensive against fascism, unmasking all would-be friends of the anti-fascist united front movement – herein lies the road to victory over the reactionary fascist forces. There is not and there cannot be any other road.

Can Fascism Win in France? Works, vol. 9, p. 430

***

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on 'finding out forms of *transition* or *approach* to the proletarian revolution.'It may be that, in a number of countries, *the united front government* will prove to be *one* of the most important forms of transition.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, pp. 107-8

***

Life is more complex than any set pattern. For example, it would be wrong to maintain that the united front government is *an indispensable stage* on the road to the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. That is just as wrong as the previous assertion that there would be *no intermediary stages* in the fascist countries and that fascist dictatorship was to be *immediately* replaced by a proletarian dictatorship.

Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p. 149

***

... the communists will do all in their power to support a united front government insofar as the latter really fights against the enemies of the people and grants freedom of action to the Communist Party and to the working class. The question of whether the communists will take part in such a government depends entirely on the concrete situation. Such questions will be settled as they arise. No ready-made recipes can be given in advance.

Ibid., p. 150

***

... the establishment of a popular front is possible only in the course of actual struggle against fascism.

The Popular Front Against Fascism and War, Works, vol. 10, p. 285

***

The popular front helps the working class to avoid political isolation..., it creates optimum conditions for the proletariat to fulfil its historic mission – to spearhead the struggle of the people against the handful of financial magnates, capitalists and big landowners, to become the vanguard of the incompleted democratic revolutions and of all movements for progress and culture.

Ibid., p. 283

***

The working class is called upon to play a decisive role in setting up a powerful popular front. It can and must rally all working people, all forces of democracy, all anti-fascists.

Ibid., p. 297

***

The proletariat is the most consistent fighter for the creation and consolidation of the united popular front against fascism on a national and international scale. The popular front is absolutely inconceivable without the proletariat.

International Proletarian Unity..., Works, vol. 10, p. 333

***

... the popular front will become a reality the sooner and will be the broader in character, the more decisively the working class begins to act as one man and the

sooner its organizations and, above all, the mass trade unions, the communist and social-democratic parties achieve unity of action in their struggle against fascism.

The Popular Front Against Fascism and War, Works, vol. 10, p. 285

***

... the success of the popular front will depend entirely on the unity of its ranks, on the political and organizational training of the participating masses and organizations, which should be ready to parry in time every blow on the part of fascism, without waiting for its general offensive.

Ibid.

***

... the popular front will further expand and be consolidated, depending on the fulfilment of itsprogramme in defence of the interests of the working people, in defence of democracy and peace, and against fascism and the fascist warmongers.

Ibid.

***

Implementing the popular front policy against fascism and war, engaging in joint actions with the other parties and organizations of the working people against the common enemy, fighting for their vital interests and democratic rights, for peace and freedom, the communists always bear in mind the historical necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, which has

outlived its time, and of the realization of socialism, which brings liberation to the working class and to mankind.

International Proletarian Unity..., Works, vol. 10, p. 332

***

Loyal sons of their class, defenders of their people's interests, free of all ties with and subservience to the bourgeoisie, thoroughly consistent internationalists, the communists will best of all be able to play the role of a *unifying link* in the ranks of the proletariat, as well as between all anti-fascist parties, organizations and groups of the working people, the democratic petty-bourgeoisie, the peasants and the intelligentsia in the fight against fascism and war.

Ibid., pp. 334-5

***

While the lack of unity in the ranks of the working class, the lack of unity of action between the proletariat and the other working sections of the nation pave the way to the advent of fascism to power, unity in the ranks of the proletariat and the establishment of a popular front ensure the victory of democracy over fascism, safeguard the world from the fascist warmongers and, in the long run, pave the way to the victory of labour over capital.

The Popular Front Against Fascism and War, Works, vol. 10, p. 283

***

The popular front offers an opportunity to the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasants and the democratic intellectuals not only to oppose the rule and oppression of big business, but also to rise against it in defence of their vital interests and rights, relying on the militant cooperation of the working class on a national and international scale.

Ibid.

***

... the fascist beast must be overpowered. The mighty, organized fist of the popular front must be brought down on it. It should be muzzled so as to keep it from biting. It must be beaten and destroyed, if we want to save the democratic gains of the peoples and preserve peace.

Ibid., p. 294

***

The partisans of democracy should never forget that the destiny of anti-fascist democracy in Europe is indissolubly linked with the destiny of the working class, with the establishment of a popular front. Democracy will inevitably fall under the blows of advancing fascism unless it has the support of the working class and the broad masses, and unless it is ready to defend itself with might and main against fascism.

Ibid., p. 290

***

In forming a broad anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it is necessary above all to bear in mind the diverse conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding there, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat in it and the influence of the Communist Party over the broad masses.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p. 99

***

The historical roots of the Fatherland Front lie in the struggles which the working people from town and countryside waged under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution and under the leadership of the Communist Party, against Wrangel's Whiteguard gangs who were being regrouped for another imperialist intervention against the young Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as in the struggles against the offensive of capitalist reaction in our country after the First World War.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, pp. 461-2

***

The historical roots of the Fatherland Front are closely bound with the bitter experience of our people in their struggle against fascism and with that great schooling which the people and their foremost democratic

organizations underwent in the course of two decades, and especially during the years of the nazi Balkan invasion.

Ibid., p. 462

***

... the Fatherland Front is the continuator... of the cause and legacy of our great national revolutionaries and apostles, Vassil Levski and Hristo Botev.

Ibid., p. 466

***

The Fatherland Front... is the result of the lesson which our people learned from their own historical experience.

Ibid.

***

The initiative of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) to set up the Fatherland Front as a militant union of workers, peasants, intellectuals, the patriots in the army and other democratic strata in order to organize, under its guidance, an armed partisan struggle, including an armed popular uprising against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and the German invaders – this initiative found a fertile soil and was taken up, in one form or another, by the overwhelming majority of our people.

Ibid., pp. 465-6

***

... The Fatherland Front emerged, developed and grew under the leadership of the working class as a historic necessity for Bulgaria.

Ibid., p. 466

***

The historic act of September 9 was made possible by the long and hard struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, during which the Bulgarian people sacrificed a great many precious lives. The Fatherland Front was born in the flames of this struggle, the brightest record of which was the glorious partisan movement. It was steeled in this struggle and grew into a powerful social and political factor, rallying all anti-fascist, national, democratic and creative forces of our country.

For a Nation-Wide Victory over Reaction..., Works, vol. 11, pp. 308-9

***

The Fatherland Front triumphed on September 9 and saved our country from disaster and our people from incalculable calamities.

To the Bulgarian Lawyers' Union, July 31, 1945, Works, vol. 11, p. 227

***

The Workers' Party (Communists) took the initiative in establishing the Fatherland Front and in organizing the resistance movement against fascism. This Party

and its youth incurred the heaviest losses in the struggle for the liberation of the people from nazi oppression. It bears, therefore, the greatest responsibility for the further strengthening of the Fatherland Front and the realization of its aims.

Everything for the Front! Works, vol. 11, p. 153

***

... at the most trying and critical times, the Fatherland Front and its government succeeded in steering the Bulgarian ship between Scylla and Charybdis, and we have every reason to believe that they will safely bring it to port.

The Cause of September 9 Is a Historic Cause, Works, vol. 11, pp. 392-3

***

... neither our successful participation in the victorious conclusion of the war, nor the securing of a lasting and equitable peace for Bulgaria are possible without the consolidation of the Fatherland Front. The realization of the democratic programme of the Fatherland Front would not be possible either. And without the consistent implementation of this programme in the field of foreign and home policy, in the economic, social and cultural life of the country, there can be no question of building new, democratic Bulgaria.

Everything for the Front! Works, vol. 11, p. 153

***

... the Fatherland Front organized and brought to a successful end our liberation struggle against the German occupiers, whereby the Bulgarian people made

their contribution to the final rout of the nazi aggressors, taking their place in the ranks of the freedom-loving peoples fighting against fascism.

For a Nation-wide Victory over Reaction..., Works, vol. 11, p. 298

***

The working class and the peasants... are the granite social foundations of the Fatherland Front, of the Bulgarian people's unity and of our new democracy.

For a New Attitude Towards the State, Works, vol. 11, p. 351

***

The Fatherland Front has never been a mere coalition of parties... Since its very inception it has been a popular movement.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 500

***

The Fatherland Front is a popular movement within the framework of which Bulgaria's political life will unfold.

For the Economic Consolidation and Independence of Fatherland Front Bulgaria, Works, vol. 11, p. 167

***

The Fatherland Front in Bulgaria is a reliable unit of the powerful army of democracy and peace.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 460

***

The Fatherland Front is a powerful popular force. It is capable of withstanding all internal and external attacks. All we need are steady nerves and tenacity. We

must resolutely repudiate all those who are ready to sell the future of their country for a mess of pottage or a handful of silver pieces.

To the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, August 23, 1945, Works, vol. 11, pp. 242-3

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And those Bulgarian men and women, who now undermine the unity of the Fatherland Front, the patriotic unity of the Bulgarian people, have either been misled or are enemies of the freedom and independence of our people.

Forward to a Brilliant, Overwhelming Election Victory, Works, vol. 11, pp. 287-8

***

The Fatherland Front has succeeded in rallying the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals under its banner and in inspiring them to work with devotion for the people's state and its prosperity.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 495

***

One of the most salient pointers to the truly people's democratic character of the Fatherland Front government is the indisputable fact that all talented and capable representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia are either active builders of our People's Republic or are helping in building it up to the best of their abilities.

Ibid.

***

It was the Fatherland Front which gave full rights to our women, to the Bulgarian townswomen and peasant women, who proved worthy of this distinction by their participation in the struggle against fascism shoulder to shoulder with the men. Women in our country have been granted equal rights with men, and this will be explicitly endorsed by the Constitution.

The Fatherland Front Will Win, In Spite of All! Works, vol. 12, p. 358

***

The Fatherland Front and its government clearly realize that without the active and conscious participation of women in the administration, in our country's socio-political, economic and cultural life, there can be no real democracy, no real and lasting advance, there can be no welfare and progress of the Bulgarian nation. All Fatherland Front activists and, in the first place, all working women, including all peasant women in our country, should be fully aware of this.

For a Further Activation, For the All-Round Development and Progress of Bulgarian Women, Works, vol. 13, p. 267

***

The Fatherland Front has granted complete equality to the national minorities.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 481

***

The transformation of the Fatherland Front into a unified socio-political organization with a common programme, which is socialist in character, and with a discipline that is compulsory for all, into an organization in which the leading role of the Communist Party is universally recognized, is undoubtedly a great achievement. It is for this reason that we firmly reject all underestimation of its significance and role. It was and still is a vital necessity for our country.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 291

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Our Party took the initiative and under its guidance... the Fatherland Front was reconstructed into a unified socio-political organization with a common and renovated programme and one and the same rules, which formulate the new tasks on the transformation of our country in keeping with its forward march towards socialism.

Ibid., pp. 289-90

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In the Fatherland Front organizations, emphasis should be laid on the political education of the masses, the elucidation of our government's policy and the mobilization of the masses for active work in the implementation of this policy.

Report to the 16th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 176-7

THE STATE

... people's democracy fulfils the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the working people and realizes the widest and most complete democracy – socialist democracy.

People's democracy and the people's democratic state... became possible as a result of the utter defeat of the German fascist forces, as a result of the historic victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War and the struggle of the masses, under the leadership of the working class, for national freedom and independence. This was how a number of countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe broke from the system of imperialism.

Political Report of the Central Committee,..., Works, vol. 14, p. 292

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People's democracy... differs from the old pseudo-democracies of capitalism precisely in that it serves the people and expresses and implements their will; it does not resemble capitalist democracy which deceives the people and serves capitalism, which is doomed by history.

Today We Have Successfully Consolidated the Historic Work..., Works, vol. 13, pp. 292-3

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... whereas bourgeois democracy is the dictatorship of capitalism, of an exploiting minority of big business over the overwhelming majority of the working people, people's democracy fulfils the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the working people and realizes the widest and most complete democracy – socialist democracy.

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress..., Works, vol. 14, p. 347

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People's democracy and the people's democratic state have four main features:

a) The people's democratic state is a rule of the working people, of the overwhelming majority of the people under the leadership of the working class...
b) The people's democratic state is a state of the period of transition and is called upon to ensure the development of the country along the path to socialism...
c) The people's democratic state is built in cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union, the country of socialism...
d) The people's democratic state belongs to the democratic, anti-imperialist camp...

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 293-4

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Without the working class, with its new place and tasks in society, there can be no people's democracy. People's democracy is possible only under the leading role of the working class.

Without the Working Class There Can Be No People's Democracy, Works, vol. 14, p.5

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... there can be no people's democracy capable of developing, building and clearing the road to socialism, if this people's democracy does not join forces with the

united world front of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, and if it does not rely on this growing united front.

The Treaty Between Bulgaria and Hungary Is a Fresh Important Contribution to the Cause of Peace and the Deepening of Friendship Between the Two Nations, Works, vol. 14, p. 186

***

Embodying the rule of the working people under the leadership of the working class, a people's democratic system under the present historical circumstances, as has been proved by experience, can and ought to successfully perform its functions of proletarian dictatorship for the elimination of the capitalist elements and the organization of a socialist economy.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 295

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People's democracy and the people's democratic state stand for internationalism. Nationalism is incompatible with people's democracy because the former is a tool of capitalism, of capitalist reaction.

Ibid., p. 297

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According to the Marxist-Leninist principles, the Soviet system and people's democracy are two forms of one and the same rule – the rule of the working class in alliance with and at the head of the working people from town and countryside. They are two forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress..., Works, vol. 14, p. 347

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The particular form of transition from capitalism to socialism in Bulgaria does not and cannot alter the basic laws of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism which are valid for all countries. The transition to socialism cannot be effected without the dictatorship of the proletariat over the capitalist elements and for the organization of a socialist economy.

Ibid.

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People's democratic rule, which fulfils the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot, because of its character, tolerate arbitrariness or lawlessness.

Ibid., p. 348

***

New, democratic Bulgaria relies on the unity of the people and, above all, on the militant alliance of the working class, the peasants and the people's intelligentsia — an alliance which must be constantly strengthened.

The Role of the Labour and Cultural Brigades, Works, vol. 12, p. 11

***

The leading role in the government of the People's Republic belongs entirely to the working people.

On the Constitution, Works, vol. 13, p. 298

***

To make our country a state of the people we have to have a new attitude towards it, to rid ourselves entirely of our former hostile attitude.

Place and Role of the Trade Unions in the New State, Works, vol. 12, p. 20

***

After having proclaimed the People's Republic, we shall have to cover a path strewn with thorns and gravel, a path which is not as smooth as the pavement of September 9 Square, but this path will lead us to the real, general prosperity of our country and people, and this will be the laurel wreath that will crown the cause of our Party.

The March Against Reaction and Fascism and for the Triumph of the Cause of the Salutary and Invincible Fatherland Front, Works, vol. 12, p. 342

***

What our people want is not just a republic, but a genuine people's republic – a people's republic which will provide the necessary material, political, cultural and moral guarantees against a restoration of the dark and ignominous past; a people's republic which will secure our country's forward democratic development...

For a Genuine People's Republic, Works, vol. 12, p. 239

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The new Constitution is an effective Constitution, and not merely a written Constitution.

On the Constitution, Works, vol. 13, p. 298

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This wonderful Constitution has been written in the blood which our heroic and freedom-loving people have shed in the long years of struggle against monarcho-fascist and bourgeois tyranny.

Ibid., p. 297

***

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which was unanimously adopted by the Grand National Assembly, consolidated the historic gains of the nation-wide September 9 Uprising, reaffirmed the democratic principles that all power is derived from the people and belongs to the people, that he who does not work shall not eat, and that labour is a fundamental social factor; it also opened up prospects for the accelerated development of our country...

Onward to New Successes and Victories for Our Nation's Welfare! Works, vol. 13, p. 357

***

... our National Assembly not only sits, it not only debates and adopts laws, but it also sees to the implementation of the laws it has voted and adopted.

Speech in the National Assembly, January 5, 1949, Works, vol. 14, p. 354

***

The people's state, the socialist state... is genuinely interested in having order, discipline and control in the state, in safeguarding the assets of the state from being

wasted, because they are the property of the whole nation.

Role and Tasks of the State Control Commission, Works, vol. 14, p.. 102

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... The State Control Commission... is an exceedingly effective, viable disinfecting apparatus which will help us better to clean and render hygienic conditions in our home – the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Ibid., p. 107

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The people's republics, in which the people are masters of their own destinies, have no need of secret diplomacy, deceptions, lies or hypocrisy and falsehoods.

The Most Important and Pressing Task Is to Guarantee the Peaceful, Constructive Labour of Our Peoples, Works, vol. 13, p. 407

***

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is the indissoluble friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, fraternal relations with the other Slav nations and friendship with the rest of the democratic nations, big or small, based on mutual respect and loyal cooperation.

Statement Made to Rigal, Special Correspondent of L'Humanité, Works, vol. 13, p. 156

***

The friendship between our Republic and the other People's Democracies is another very important facet of our foreign policy. It dates back to the time of the

struggles which our peoples waged for their freedom and independence with the powerful support of the USSR.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 309

***

We pursue and shall continue to pursue our peaceful and democratic policy. As a state, we want to be and we shall be a factor of peace and international cooperation!

Speech to the Students of the Vassil Levski Military Academy, February 11, 1947, Works, vol. 13, p. 74

***

What we are working and fighting for is to transform our People's Republic into a model state, a state of peace and democracy, a state of socialism, in order to be regarded with respect and esteem even by those who hate us, and who ought to appreciate the Bulgarian people and our People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Toast in Honour of Justin Goddard, May 18, 1948, Works, vol. 14, p. 114

ON THE USSR

... without the Soviet Union, there can be no freedom and independence for the peoples.

Today there exists the powerful Soviet Russia – the first ever worker-peasant state, a granite bulwark of peace, a source of strength, faith and hope for the proletariat of all countries in its struggle for freedom, a lodestar to working mankind!

Speech at a Grand Meeting in Sofia, Held on March 18, 1923, Works, vol. 7, p. 63

***

... in the place of tsarist Russia, the powerful Soviet Union stands today on one sixth of the globe and provides an irreplaceable base for the world proletarian revolution. Under its influence, the multi-million colonial and semi-colonial peoples of China, Morocco, Egypt and India are awakening and going into a resolute offensive against imperialism.

The Situation in the Balkans and the Tasks of the Balkan Communist Federation, Works, vol. 8, p. 188

***

Tsarist Russia was a dungeon of nations, a country of national oppression in which enmity between nations was whipped up to the utmost... Soviet power eliminated mutual distrust, put an end to national enmity, and today the Soviet Union is a homogeneous socialist state, based on mutual confidence, on the equality and free will of the peoples of the USSR; which is the only country in the world where relations between nations rest on fraternal alliance and friendly cooperation.

Speech at an Election Meeting in Kostroma, December 8, 1937, Works, vol. 10, pp. 398-9

***

The red flag of the proletarian revolution is victoriously flying over one sixth of the globe.

Proletarian Unity of Action..., Works, vol. 10, p. 11

***

The workers and peasants, and not the capitalists and big landowners, rule over one sixth of the globe. Millions of Soviet workers and kolkhoz members in the great and vast Soviet land are transforming former backward tsarist and landowners' Russia into a country of advanced technology, mechanization and industrialization, into a country of socialism.

Ibid.

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Russia, the former dungeon of nations, has been transformed into the fraternal Union of Soviet Republics of the different nationalities. The Soviet Union is the mainstay of world proletarian revolution, the bastion of socialism, the bulwark of peace among nations and the socialist homeland of the working people of all countries.

The Struggle for a United Front, Works, vol. 9, p. 509

***

The central power in Soviet Russia expresses the will and aspirations of the working masses. In that country there is no conflict between state and people, as is the case in the capitalist countries, for the state there is

nothing but an instrument of safeguarding the gains of the revolution, organizing the period of transition from capitalism to communism under the dictatorship of the proletariat and clearing the path towards full communism, when there will be no state, but only a fraternal community of men without any coercive power.

On the Autonomy of the Municipality of Sofia, Works, vol. 6, p. 130

***

Moscow is the lodestar of the proletarian struggle throughout the world. Moscow is the sun which dispels the impenetrable darkness of night in the capitalist world.

Address to the Fourth All-Russian Trade Union Congress..., Works, vol. 6, p.5

***

By means of their revolution, the proletariat and the peasants *in Soviet Russia* took political power into their hands and instituted a Soviet system and their own dictatorship.

On the Autonomy of the Municipality of Sofia, Works, vol. 6, p. 129

***

With the blood they shed so abundantly, the Russian proletarians cleared the path to the liberation of working mankind.

Third Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Works, vol. 5, p. 499

***

Throughout its existence, the Soviet state has proved that, in implementing socialism and blazing the trail to communism, it was acting in the interest not only of its own people, but also of all other nations and, in the first place, in the interest of the working people and the population of the countries oppressed by imperialism.

The USSR, an Indestructible Bastion of Peace and Democracy, Works, vol. 13, p. 279

***

Throughout its existence, the Soviet state has been unflinchingly upholding the cause of peace and fighting for the national freedom and independence of the peoples and against the imperialist plunderers. The liberating mission of the country of socialism became particularly vividly and brilliantly manifest during the Second World War when its heroic peoples and glorious army saved mankind from barbarous, manhating nazism.

Ibid., pp. 279-80

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With its policy against capitalist exploitation and tyranny and against colonial bondage, the USSR has undoubtedly brought closer the time when capitalism will be wiped out entirely.

The Situation in the Balkans..., vol. 8, p. 188

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The Soviet Union, the great achievement of the bolsheviks, stands now like an immovable rock...

Letter to the Austrian Workers, Works, vol. 9, p. 412

***

... The Soviet Union is no ordinary state – it is the offspring of the world proletariat, of the world revolution. Its real frontiers pass over the whole world, encompassing everything that lives for the good of the working class and fights for its cause. The Soviet Union is a country in which socialism is being built and which incarnates the ideals of the world proletariat; it is the socialist homeland of the working people of all countries.

The Soviet Union Is Our Homeland, Works, vol. 9, p. 507

***

The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, which is an epoch-making victory, has given rise to a powerful movement towards socialism in all capitalist countries. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among nations, enhancing the international significance of the Soviet Union and its role as a powerful bulwark of the working people in their struggle against capitalism, reaction and fascism. It consolidates the Soviet Union as the base of world proletarian revolution.

The Present Rulers of the Capitalist Countries... Works, vol. 10, p. 177

***

Millions of people in the capitalist world – workers, peasants and intellectuals, scientists, engineers and technicians – are increasingly coming to realize that socialism in the USSR means a powerful growth of the forces of production, a steady rise in the living standards of the broad masses, an unprecedented upsurge of their culture, an all-round development of man's personality, the emergence of a new man, a new way of life and a new mentality.

The 'Legal System' of German Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p. 221

***

Up to now there has never been a state like the USSR, which millions of people all over the world, irrespective of their nationality and race, love as their own country and feel that they themselves, their lives, destinies and hopes are intimately linked with it.

The Soviet Union and the Working Class..., Works, vol. 10, p. 381

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Bolshevism, which unites the forces of the working class, mobilizes it and leads it in a relentless struggle against the exploiting classes, has brought about the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class and the victory of socialism in the USSR.

The Country of Socialism and the Fight of the International Proletariat, Works, vol. 11, p.3

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The victory of socialism in the USSR is a testimony to the powerful, creative energy of the working class.

Ibid.

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The victory of socialism brought to the Soviet people unprecedented moral and political unity. The working class, peasants and intellectuals are rallied in a powerful front, in a united army of communist builders.

Ibid., p. 4

***

The workers in all countries look upon the achievements of socialist construction in the USSR as a victory of their cause... In the growth and consolidation of the Soviet Union, the working class of the capitalist countries sees a vital source which strengthens its confidence in its own forces and in its liberation from capitalist bondage.

Ibid., p.6

***

The Soviet Union played a decisive role in winning the war against the aggressors and saved civilization from fascist barbarity. It showed to the whole world that the forces of socialism and democracy are invincible.

Political Report of the Central Committee ..., Works, vol. 14, p. 300

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The first and foremost result of the Second World War was that the Soviet Union, contrary to the expectations of world reaction, emerged from it stronger, with a greatly enhanced international prestige.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 453

***

The Russian workers and peasants... formed their glorious revolutionary Red Army, an army such as the world has never seen before, and which knows that it is fighting not only to protect its own socialist homeland from the imperialist beasts of prey, but also to clear the way to the complete liberation of all working people in the world.

Third Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Works, vol. 5, p. 496

***

Thanks to the Soviet Union and its victorious army which crushed the monstrous German fascist war machine and routed Hitler's hordes, the peoples in South-Eastern Europe were able to overthrow the capitalists and landlords, to wrest their countries from the system of imperialism, to create their People's Republics and, with the cooperation of the powerful Soviet Union, to set out along the path of socialist construction, availing themselves of the rich experience of their Soviet brothers.

Under the Great and Invincible Banner of Leninism, Works, vol. 14, p. 357

***

Throughout its existence and particularly by its victorious war of liberation against nazi Germany, the Soviet Army has proved in deed that it is the only armed force in the world which does not serve aggressive, imperialistic ends, but defends the freedom and independence of the Soviet people, the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and peace and friendship among nations.

The Bulgarians' Deep Love..., Works, vol. 13, p. 528

***

By crushing the nazi war machine, the heroic Soviet Army not only preserved the freedom and independence of its socialist homeland, but also saved mankind from fascist... barbarity.

The October Socialist Revolution..., Works, vol. 14, p. 210

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It has never been as clear as it is now, after the Second World War, that without the Soviet Union there can be no freedom and independence for the peoples.

Ibid., p. 212

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You cannot be an enemy of fascism and at the same time fight against the USSR, the vanguard of the international anti-fascist movement. You cannot be a

socialist or even an honest democrat without resolutely and wholeheartedly siding with the Soviet Union, the great country of socialism and genuine popular democracy.

International Proletarian Unity..., Works, vol. 10, p. 327

***

... today's great divide between the democratic camp and the reactionary camp in the world arena, between the warmongers and the proponents of a lasting democratic peace, is their attitude towards the Soviet Union.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 302-3

***

The existence of the country of socialism, that powerful bastion in the struggle of the international proletariat, the bulwark of peace, freedom and progress, is *the major factor in eliminating the split in the working class movement.*

The Soviet Union and the Working Class..., Works, vol. 10, p. 391

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As a matter of fact, one's attitude to the Soviet Union is the *touchstone* of fidelity to the interests of the working class, of loyalty to socialism for every working class militant and organization.

International Proletarian Unity..., Works, vol. 10, pp. 327-8

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In the present international situation, there is and there can be no *truer criterion* of determining who is a *friend* and who is an *enemy* of the cause of the working class and of socialism, who is an *adherent* and who is an *opponent* of democracy and peace, than one's *attitude* towards the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union and the Working Class..., Works, vol. 10, p. 392

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The *touchstone* with which to test the sincerity and honesty of every functionary of the working class movement, of every workers' party or organization of the working people, of every democrat in the capitalist countries is their *attitude* towards the great country of socialism.

Ibid.

***

Today the Soviet Union, at the head of the democratic anti-imperialist camp, is a reliable bastion of peace, democracy and progress, against the warmongers and the new pretenders to world domination.

The Destinies of the Bulgarian People Are Most Closely Linked with the Destinies of the Great Soviet Union, Works, vol. 13, p. 277

***

Futile are the efforts of the imperialists and their right-wing socialist and other pseudo-democratic agents to dig a chasm between the democratic world and the

Soviet Union, the true-and-tried leader in the fight for democracy and international cooperation.

The USSR, an Indestructible Bastion of Peace and Democracy, Works, vol. 13, p. 280

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The new democratic countries, breaking away from the imperialist system and confidently marching along the road of independent political and economic development, are rallying ever more closely around the Soviet Union, the unflinching guardian of peace, democracy and progresss...

Ibid., p. 281

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As a Soviet frontline post in the Near East, Soviet Adjaristan is a concrete example to the working people in the Eastern and Balkan countries as to how, on the basis of the alliance of the working class and the peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, it is possible to accomplish a successful transition from patriarchal and feudal backwardness to socialist forms of production, securing a steady rise in the living standards of the working people and a flowering of their national culture.

Letter to the Working People in Soviet Adjaristan, July 10, 1934, G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p. 302

***

Soviet Adjaristan has shown to the working people in the capitalist and colonial countries how the fraternal cooperation between different nationalities and their

joint efforts in building a new culture and a happy life are possible on the basis of the Leninist theory on the national question, while in the capitalist countries fascism whips up national chauvinism, incites one nationality against the other and prepares a new slaughterhouse for the peoples.

Ibid.

***

At present the Soviet Union, which stands at the helm of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp, is a reliable bastion of peace, democracy and progress against the fomentors of war and the new pretenders to world domination – the American imperialists.

The October Socialist Revolution..., Works, vol. 14, p. 210

***

... all peoples see in the Soviet Union the guardian of world peace and the protector of civilization from capitalist barbarity.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 304

BULGARO – SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

For the Bulgarian people, friendship with the Soviet Union is just as vitally necessary as the sun and air are for every living being.

Twice in Bulgaria's history, the great Russian people have nobly lent us a helping hand in liberating ourselves from foreign bondage. At present the Soviet Union is again sincerely and selflessly doing its best to help us to defend our right to free national existence, to preserve our territory from foreign encroachments and to defend our just national cause.

Let Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship Live through the Centuries, Works, vol. 12, p. 404

***

In spite of all vicissitudes, the Bulgarian people have withstood the trials of the bitter struggle and have preserved forever a strong feeling of solidarity and fraternal friendship with their liberator, the great Russian people...

To the Slav Congress, December 7, 1946, Works, vol. 12, p. 447

***

In Moscow and the Soviet Union we see not only our liberators of the past, but also true comrades who sincerely and disinterestedly assist our national efforts to build the happiness and bright future of our country.

Speech at a Mass Meeting to Welcome the Bulgarian Government Delegation on Its Return from Moscow, March 24, 1948, Works, vol. 14, pp. 27-8

***

Since the Soviet Union does not pursue any imperialistic ends and has no imperialistic designs anywhere, it is endeavouring to contribute, with regard to Bulgaria and the Balkan countries too, to the con-

solidation of the democracy of their own choice which these peoples, including the Bulgarian people, are creating ....

A Talk with Czechoslovak Journalists, November 19, 1945, Works, vol. 11, p. 334

***

Our Party, closely linked with the Russian revolutionary movement before the October Socialist Revolution, has the historic merit of further deepening the gratitude of the Bulgarian people towards their liberators and of transforming friendship with the USSR into the *cornerstone of the foreign policy of our People's Republic.*

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 308

***

The destinies of the fraternal Bulgarian people have always been taken to heart by the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Whither Bulgaria, Works, vol. 11, p. 124

***

There is not and there cannot be any sensible Bulgarian who loves his country and who is not convinced that sincere friendship with the Soviet Union is just as necessary for Bulgaria's national independence and prosperity as the sun and air are for every living being.

The Crisis in Bulgaria, Works, vol. 11, p. 129

***

The future of the Bulgarian people is indissolubly linked with the great Russian people who liberated us twice.

To the Chairman of the Annual Meeting of the Bulgaro-Soviet Society, October, 3, 1945, Works, vol. 11, p. 273

***

Bulgaro-Soviet friendship should have a special place in the hearts of the Bulgarian people, it should become an integral part of them.

Ibid.

***

The main trend in Bulgaria's foreign policy is the indestructible, sincere and lasting friendship with the Soviet Union, with the great Russian people who liberated us twice.

For a Nation-wide Victory Over Reaction..., Works, vol. 11, p. 319

***

Bulgaro-Soviet friendship is of decisive, historic importance for the present and the future of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.
It is no accident that this friendship is the cornerstone of our foreign policy and a powerful factor in the economic and cultural development of our country.

Let Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship..., Works, vol. 12, p. 404

***

Friendship with the Soviet Union is a guarantee of peace, because it is precisely the Soviet Union which marches in the vanguard of the peoples in their struggle for lasting democratic peace. No one has ever done so much to secure a just peace for Bulgaria as the Soviet Union.

Friendship with the Soviet Union is a guarantee of our country's freedom and national independence.

Ibid.

***

For the Bulgarian people, friendship with the Soviet Union is just as vitally necessary as the sun and air are for every living being.

Ibid., p. 405

***

The expansion of our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union... will speed up and guarantee the development of Bulgaria's economy.

Ibid.

***

Friendship with the Soviet Union is a premise for the flowering of our culture. The historical, cultural and linguistic affinities between the Bulgarian and the Russian people offer us inexhaustible opportunities to draw from the rich treasurestore of Soviet culture, the lodestar of world progress.

Ibid.

***

Friendship with the Soviet Union is an inherent necessity for our people, an expression of their legitimate feelings of gratitude to their older brother, the great Russian people...

Ibid.

***

No storms that may rise, will be able to shake our profound conviction that our historic destiny is to march shoulder to shoulder, in everlasting and indestructible friendship with our great Russian brother, with the Soviet Union. Therein lies our salvation. Therein lies our happy future as a nation.

Speech Before the Standing Board of the Union of Bulgaro-Soviet Societies, April 17, 1947, Works, vol. 13, p. 115

***

The truly democratic and progressive forces in all countries rally round the Soviet Union. They learn from the Soviet Union how to fight and win, and how to build a new and happy life for their peoples.

The USSR, an Indestructible Bastion of Peace and Democracy, Works, vol. 13, p. 281

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The Bulgarian people will never forget... that the Russian soldiers brought them their first liberation from the Turkish pashas and beys... They will never forget that the brave sons of the Russian and the other Soviet

peoples helped them to free themselves a second time... and to take their destinies into their own hands for good.

The Bulgarians' Deep Love..., Works, vol. 13, p. 529

***

Our people will never forget that while the armies of the imperialists plunder and oppress the countries they occupy, and arrest their development, the Soviet officers and men in Bulgaria rendered brotherly aid to our cultural and economic construction.

Ibid., pp. 529-30

***

Whatever may happen in future, the Bulgarian people will never betray their older brother and liberator.

Speech at the Airport on Leaving Moscow, March 24, 1948, Works, vol. 14, p. 24

***

The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, which we have just signed, ultimately lightens the historic fraternal bonds between the Bulgarian people and the great Russian people and the other peoples of the Soviet Union.
This Treaty fully corresponds to the vital interests of our people and reflects their most cherished aspirations.

The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the USSR Reflects the Most Cherished Aspirations of Our People, Works, vol. 14, p. 22

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This treaty rests on equality and on the principle of loyalty for loyalty, friendship for friendship.

Speech at a Mass Meeting..., Works, vol. 14, p. 27

The Union of Bulgarian-Soviet Societies should so extend its activities that the light of the Bulgarian-Soviet societies, the light of the great Bulgaro-Soviet friendship may reach the remotest hamlets and huts in our land.

Speech Before the Standing Board..., Works, vol. 13, p. 116

BULGARIA, THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE

I have no reason to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian...

... this small, but young and viable Bulgaria, which after September 9 opened the people's hearts, stimulated their labour enthusiasm, their patriotism, their readiness to march forward and ever forward, has many friends.

Place and Role of the Trade Unions in the New State, Works, vol. 12, p. 27

***

Bulgaria contributed to the best of its abilities to the liberation of the Balkans from the nazi invaders and to their final defeat.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 275

***

... in the course of a few five-year periods Bulgaria will be transformed from a backward agricultural, into a developed industrial-cum-agricultural country.

Ibid., p. 324

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As far as Bulgaria is concerned, it now has a popular government which sincerely desires to maintain friendly relations with all democratic states, big and small, but it is also firmly resolved never again to permit our country to be treated like a semi-colonial one.

Answers to Questions Put by George Downton, Special Correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, Works, vol. 13, p. 203

***

... new Bulgaria very much needs a rapid and large population growth, a great number of children, loyal sons and daughters of our people, future builders in all spheres of state, social and cultural life.

To the Congress of Mothers of Large Families in Bulgaria, Works, vol. 12, p. 216

***

I have no reason to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian, in fact I am proud that I am a son of the Bulgarian working class.

Minutes of G. Dimitrov's Concluding Speech..., Works, vol. 9, p. 261

***

A nation which lived for five hundred years under a foreign yoke and did not lose its language or its identity, our working class and peasantry who have fought and are fighting against Bulgarian fascism and for communism – such a nation is neither savage nor barbarous.

Ibid., p. 260

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I have not only been roundly abused by the press – something I am completely indifferent to – but my Bulgarian people have also, through me, been characterized as savage and barbarous. I have been called 'a suspicious individual from the Balkans' and 'a wild Bulgarian' and that I cannot allow to pass over in silence.

It is true that Bulgarian *fascism* is savage and barbarous. But the Bulgarian workers and peasants, the Bulgarian people's intelligentsia are by no means savage or barbarous.

Ibid.

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The entire old and new history of the Bulgarian people teaches us that whenever they have lost their freedom and national independence, it has been due to the lack of coordination between the popular forces and to the lack of patriotic unity of the people against their external and domestic enemies.

Only Those Who Are Not Afraid of the Difficulties... Works, vol. 11, p. 281

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There can be no doubt that the people who were able to establish the salutary Fatherland Front in the harshest conditions of the struggle against the German fascist dictatorship, the people who performed the historic act of September 9, who with their own blood washed the stigma of disgrace which the fascist traitors had put on their country, will be able just as successfully to defend their democratic gains.

On the Threshold of the Second Year of Democratic Fatherland Front Rule, Works, vol. 11, p. 249

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... ours is a small nation, but it harbours pronounced dignity.

Our Nation Is Small, but It Harbours Pronounced Dignity, Works, vol. 12, p. 116

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We are not a big nation, ours is a small state, but we have national dignity which derives from the unity of our people, from our national valour and our irresistible striving for higher culture and a steady advance.

May Day, Works, vol. 12, p. 141

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The Bulgarian nation is indeed small, but it is great in its iron will, its unshakable moral strength, its faith in righteousness and justice, it is great in its many talented sons and daughters.

Shoulder to Shoulder, Ever Forward..., Works, Vol. 13, p. 131

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Our people are like virgin soil – a rich, new soil which has not been cultivated by the former governments because they were not interested in developing it. Our present people's government, however, must do this and will do it.

Talk with a Delegation of Fighters Against Fascism from Pernik, January 30, 1947, Works, vol. 13, p. 40

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When a nation has taken its destinies in its own hands, when it firmly stands on its own feet, when it daily strengthens its unity, it has nothing to fear.

The Solution to All Our Domestic and External Problems Lies in Our Hands, Works, vol. 13, p. 388

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There still are many difficulties on our path. However, we and our militant and industrious people have the firm will and forces to overcome all those difficulties, irrespective of their nature, and they will certainly be overcome by our joint efforts in the name of our country's prosperity.

Let Our People Exert All Their Forces, Works, vol. 13 pp.3-4

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The experience of history, as well as our people's experience teach us that no popular cause can triumph without the strenuous efforts of the people and their patriotic intelligentsia, without the bold and persistent overcoming of difficulties, without a resolute struggle, without temporary sufferings, privations and sacrifices.

On the Threshold of the Second Year..., Works, vol. 11, p. 249

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The entire future of our people depends, on the one hand, on the power of the Soviet Union, in which we are vitally interested, and on the other, on the people's readiness and ability, in case of capitalist aggression, to fulfil their duty honourably in the common fight.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 298

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Our people firmly stand in the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, headed by the great Soviet Union.

All Treacherous Attempts to Sap the Unity of the Democratic Camp Will Break Against the Granite Rock of the Anti-Imperialist Front, Works, vol. 14, p. 200

***

Today the Bulgarian people are fighting for lasting peace, for people's democracy, for friendship among nations and for international cooperation. The Bulgarian people have chosen the right path, the path of eternal alliance with the great Soviet Union...

May Day, Works, vol. 12, pp. 140-1

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The Bulgarian people are firmly resolved to fight against the unleashing of a new war and to make their contribution to the establishment of lasting peace and international cooperation as a guarantee for the progress and well-being of mankind.

Let Our People Exert All Their Forces, Works, vol. 13, p. 3

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We shall never be the first to attack, but we must be ready to defend ourselves against every encroachment on our territory, against every violation of our borders, of our national freedom and independence.

Speech Before the Students of the Vassil Levski Military Academy..., Works, vol. 13, p. 74

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Our people have enemies, but are not alone; they have many faithful and unselfish friends, great and small.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 508

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... a nation without a sound economy and a well organized working class cannot have enduring political and national independence.

The Tasks of the General Workers' Trade Union, Works, vol. 11, p. 174

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For us, for our people... there is one supreme law and it imperatively demands of us: tireless creative work and labour discipline, inviolable popular unity, persistent struggle in defence of our freedom and independence...

Towards New Successes and Victories Through Labour, Education and Struggle, Works, vol. 14, pp. 87-8

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The strength and future of our people lie in their militant and patriotic unity, now embodied in the Fatherland Front.

The Fatherland Front Is a Lasting Militant Alliance of All Democratic and Progressive Forces, Works, vol. 11, p. 172

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Love for one's country and for one's people – this is a very powerful moral factor in the struggle against all hardships, sufferings and misfortunes which may befall an individual.

Work and Patriotism, Works, vol. 13, p. 371

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One should never be indifferent or remain passive, but should take part in the struggle against the people's enemies.

Ibid.

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The Agrarian Party emerged and developed in the fight against the bourgeoisie and its parties. In its ideology and policy, it was a purely peasant, anti-capitalist organization.

The Bulgarian Lesson, Works, vol. 8, p. 139

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Under the guidance of its tested leaders and Fatherland Front adherents, our main ally, the Agrarian Party, rid itself of the vacillating and double-dealing elements and took stand in favour of a militant alliance of the peasants and workers under the leadership of the working class, in favour of socialist construction and the socialist transformation of agriculture on the basis of cooperative farms...

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 283-4

BULGARIA ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

... the task now is to achieve in 15 to 20 years, by means of the country's industrialization and electrification and the mechanization of its agriculture, what it took other countries a whole century to achieve under different conditions.

We have never lost sight of the general perspective of our development towards socialism. We have always clearly realized that the elimination of fascism and the implementation of the numerous reforms, which figure on the Fatherland Front Programme of July 17, 1942, are indissolubly linked with our ultimate goal – socialism and communism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 286

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In future our enemies and opponents can place us in a difficult situation only if we do not have a sound economy, if our country has not been industrialized and electrified, and if our agriculture has not been mechanized.

What Is Needed for the Success of the Shockworkers' Movement..., Works, vol. 13, p. 30

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The working out and adoption of the Two-Year National Economic Plan in the spring of 1947 was a major event for our people, and it gave a new orientation to our economic development.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 482

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... when the destiny of our country is at stake, no tolerance can be shown towards wreckers, parasites, idlers and overt or covert enemies of the implementation of the economic plan.

The Printed Word Is a Mighty Weapon, Works, vol. 13, p. 138

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Remember: no matter how much they may threaten us from without, *we shall build our home as our people see fit and as their interests and future demand it.* What our people have mapped out *will be achieved by our joint efforts.*

Shoulder to Shoulder, Ever Forward..., Works, vol. 13, p. 131

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... the development of the productive forces, the increase of the economic potential of our country and the improvement of the well-being of our working people would have been inconceivable without tangibly infringing on the economic basis of the capitalist class.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 285

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The nationalization of industry has been the most important revolutionary measure in our economy. It ultimately ensured our country's planned development on the road to socialism.

Ibid., p. 289

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Planned economy has become possible because state administration is in the hands of the people, and because under the new government the public sector – both state and cooperative – is expanding all the time.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 483

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The fact that the people's democratic and the Soviet systems are alike *in their most important and decisive aspect,* i.e. they both represent the rule of the working class in alliance with and at the head of the working people, obliges us to draw some essential conclusions about the need of thoroughly studying and applying the great experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. *This experience... adapted to our conditions, is the best and only model for building socialism in Bulgaria, as well as in the other People's Democracies.*

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 347-8

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In gearing their economy along socialist lines, our people must rely primarily on their own forces and the country's resources, on their labour and savings, and on the proper utilization of the available funds. However, our people are fortunate in that they can also rely on the disinterested, fraternal aid of the great country of socialism – the Soviet Union, and on the close and systematic cooperation with the other People's Democracies; this will save them a great deal of labour and efforts, and will speed up their development.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 315-6

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The major factors for building socialism in our country are at hand. They are: the people's democratic rule, the alliance of the proletariat and the peasants under the

former's leadership, large-scale industrial production in the hands of the people's democratic state, rapid development of the productive forces by way of new construction, cooperation, and especially the cooperative farms and the craftsmen's cooperatives. A particularly important factor in this respect is the active fraternal aid of the USSR and the close economic cooperation with the People's Democracies which guarantee and considerably accelerate our socialist development.

Ibid., p. 320

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During the period covered by the First Five-Year Plan, we can set ourselves the task of laying the foundations of socialism both in industry and in agriculture. The Plan aims precisely at the implementation of this task. It is upon these foundations that the next two or three five-year periods will see the building of socialism and the establishment of a socialist society in our country.

Ibid., pp. 320-1

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Our Republic needs lasting peace, friendship and cooperation with other nations so that it may catch up with the more advanced countries and become an economically developed, democratic and socialist state with a high culture.

Ibid., p. 311

***

... the task now is to achieve in 15 to 20 years, by means of the country's industrialization and electrification and the mechanization of its agriculture, what it took other countries a whole century to achieve under different conditions.

Ibid., p. 314

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Like any good manager, we shall not use up all that we produce, but shall set aside part of the national revenue for the further development of our economy – for the construction of new factories and plants, new machine and tractor stations, as well as for the growth of the productive forces in industry and agriculture.

Ibid., p. 316

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People's savings are a powerful factor in the economic upsurge of our country. They are an extremely valuable source for the financing of our economy and a powerful lever in the further stabilization of our currency.

People's Savings Are a Powerful Factor in the Economic Upsurge of Our Country, Works, vol. 12, p. 123

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Criticism and self-criticism are the most powerful motive force of progress and development, provided, of course, the criticism is positive and constructive, and not tendentious, personal or factious, provided it encourages and helps...

Major Prerequisites for the Consolidation of Cooperative Farms, Works, vol. 13, p. 51

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... we would not mark any advance in the economic sphere if we do not have a critical attitude towards ourselves and others, towards our weaknesses and shortcomings.

Ibid.

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We should always bear in mind that the success of our national cause cannot be guaranteed by glossing over or covering up our weaknesses and shortcomings, but by admitting them openly and eliminating them without hesitation.

The Two Lessons, Works, vol. 12, p. 103

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You cannot base for any period of time people's democratic rule and socialist construction on those two different principles: large-scale, integrated socialist industry and backward, parcelled-up, small-commodity farming. Agriculture must be shifted gradually, systematically and steadfastly onto a new technical base, that of large-scale output through the merging of private farms into large mechanized cooperative farms.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 315

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The task is to find and apply, as quickly as possible, those conditions which are instrumental in strengthening the existing cooperative farms. There are

many such conditions. The most important among them, however, are the following: *first, the principle of voluntariness in joining the cooperative farms should be observed most strictly and consistently...*

Second, the members of the cooperative farms should be educated in a spirit of team work and mutual assistance...

The third and very important condition is that every cooperative farm member should work honestly and to the best of his abilities...

The next condition is... a proprietary and loyal attitude towards the cooperative farm.

Major Prerequisites for..., Works, vol. 13, pp. 49-51

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The problem of cadres is of particular importance for the development and consolidation of our young cooperative farms.

Ibid., p. 52

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The role of women, of housewives in the cooperative farms is extremely important.

Ibid., p. 53

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Without good book-keeping in the cooperative farms, their members cannot be sure that everything is as it should be.

Ibid., p. 52

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Criticism and self-criticism are a very good way of setting to right... weaknesses and shortcomings in the cooperative farms.

Ibid, p. 51

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... when the cooperative farms become strong and their production increases, when they raise the living and cultural standards of their members and those in the villages, the regions, etc, then the private farmers will increasingly realize that cooperative farming is in their interest and will join the cooperative farms.

Ibid., p. 56

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As regards the nationalization of land, we are of the opinion that this problem is of no particular importance under our conditions and given the development of the cooperative farms; that is to say, we think that the nationalization of the land is not an indispensable prerequisite for the development and mechanization of our agriculture.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 297

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... by gradually drawing the poor and middling peasants into the cooperative farms, by improving the machine and tractor stations, by prohibiting the leasing of land, by restricting and subsequently prohibiting the sale and

purchase of land, by reducing and subsequently abolishing the rent on the decision of the cooperative farmers themselves whenever conditions permit that, *the problem of land nationalization will be solved in practice by leaving all land in perpetual use to the toiling peasants.*

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress...,. Works, vol. 14, p. 346

***

Cooperative farms are fast becoming a new form in agriculture, which alone is in a position, with the aid of the machine and tractor stations, to mechanize and modernize our farming, to improve the well-being of the peasants and orient our farming towards socialism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 313

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The labour and cultural brigades in aid of the toiling peasants help to strengthen the friendship between workers and peasants; they are a real bond between town and village and contribute to the all-round consolidation of the Fatherland Front and the progress of our country.

The Labour and Cultural Brigades Strengthen the Friendship Between Workers and Peasants, Works, vol. 11, p. 234

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The brigades are an exceptionally important factor in preserving and strengthening our nation's unity, so much needed to guarantee the freedom and independence of our country...

The Labour and Cultural Brigades Are an Exceptionally Important Factor, Works, vol. 11, p. 244

***

The labour and cultural brigades which appeared as a movement in aid of the villages, soon became a nation-wide movement; there are already brigades coming from the villages to help the working people in the towns. The history of our country knows of no such wonderful expression of the unity and fraternity between the democratic town and the democratic village.

The Role of the Labour and Cultural Brigades, Works, vol. 12, p. 12

***

We are pursuing a path of development along which all differences between town and village will be ironed out. We are progressing towards the elimination of the difference in culture and prosperity between town and village.

Basic Questions of Policy and Tactics of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, Works, vol. 13, p. 348

***

Antagonistic classes will disappear and society will consist of workers, farmers and the intelligentsia, whose interests will not clash and who, with joint efforts, will lead our country to socialism and then to communism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 324

***

... people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria no longer work and produce for capitalist profits and for the illegal accumulation of wealth by groups or in-

dividuals; they work in order to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the intellectual and manual workers, to secure the well-being of our people and the coming generations, to promote the economic prosperity and cultural progress of the nation and to raise the economic potential and enhance the might of our country.

The General Workers' Trade Union, a Vanguard in the Struggle for the Fulfilment of the Two-Year Economic Plan, Works, vol. 13, p. 128

***

There are no such difficulties in our country which cannot be overcome by our people, who have taken their destinies into their own hands and are building, working and living for their own sake and for that of their children, and not for the sake of parasites, spongers and money-grabbers.

Our Party's Foresight..., Works, vol. 13, p. 83

***

Our country needs honest work and labour discipline. We should not put off till tomorrow what we are supposed to do today.

Place and Role of the Trade Unions in the New State, Works, vol. 12, p. 19

***

... in new, Fatherland Front Bulgaria *labour should be a fundamental factor, it should occupy a foremost place in state, public and political affairs.*

Ibid., p. 22

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... in our country work must increasingly become a matter of honour, dignity and heroism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 318

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In new Bulgaria, everyone's place in society will be determined not by his name or origin, nor by his pretensions or the opinion he has of himself, but by his work, by what he contributes to the economic, cultural and social progress of his nation.

Ibid., pp. 318-9

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The country must get to know its leading workers and heroes of labour, its inventors, rationalizers, innovators, the talented and loyal representatives of intellectual and manual labour, who promote the economic potential and the flowering of culture and multiply our national wealth. It should honour them as its best and most worthy sons and daughters.

Ibid., p. 318

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We are well aware that enthusiasm and cheers alone cannot build dams, new railwaylines or factories and plants. Yet nothing of value can be created without enthusiasm, without the flame in our hearts.

Our Party's Foresight..., Works, vol. 13, p. 83

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... under equal objective conditions, in some cases you may obtain one kind of result, and in other, a ten times better result. This depends upon the subjective factor, upon the head, the hand, the spirit, the heart of the worker, engineer or technician.

A Pitiless Struggle Against Idleness, Waste and Red Tape, Works, vol. 13, p. 183

***

So far our experience of emulation and the shockworkers' movement has shown that it will score greater success and yield much better results, if the interests of the individual worker and of the working class as a whole are correctly harmonized with the overall interests of our national economy.

Emulation and the Shockworkers' Movement in New Bulgaria, Works, vol. 12, p. 173

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After September 9, 1944, emulation and shockwork emerged in our country as a new and hitherto unknown incentive to work. Hundreds of thousands of working people have joined this mass movement and, being conscientious patriots, are setting examples of how one should work for the sake of one's country. We can say that emulation is already becoming a constant and most fruitful method of work on the labour front.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 492

***

There is hardly any other sphere, beside that of invention and rationalization, in which so much persistent work, skill, self-criticism and scrupulousness are needed.

Message to the Congress of Bulgarian Inventors and Rationalizers, Works, vol. 13, p. 112

ON CADRES

Wherever we may be, whatever post we may fill, we must learn tirelessly...

Wherever we may be, whatever post we may fill, we must learn tirelessly, because without the knowledge of how to govern and of how to build new, democratic Bulgaria, we cannot secure the progress and bright future of our country and people.

The Historic Mission of the BWP(C), Works, vol. 12, p. 61

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Experience shows that the more the Party comrades are capable and modest, the more they keep in the background and remain unnoticed, while windbags often manage to come to the fore just because they know how to talk a lot. You ought to look for such modest and capable comrades the way Diogenes looked for Man with his lantern!

Ibid., p. 66

***

... it is necessary that the available cadres, those at the disposal of the Party in the political, propaganda, cultural or economic fields (including engineers, agronomists, architects and others) should, as far as possible, be better distributed and placed in positions where they will be able to apply to the maximum their energy and abilities for the implementation of our economic plan.

Our Party's Foresight..., Works, vol. 13, p. 84

***

We must keep in mind that no one in our country, no matter how clever he is or how vast his abilities, can progress without criticism and self-criticism. Neither

can the people develop as a people and as a nation without constant criticism and self-criticism, or unless everything sound and correct is encouraged and everything unsound, rotten and incorrect is mercilessly condemned. Precisely therein lies the great healing effect of criticism and self-criticism.

Ibid., pp. 87-8

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The strength and influence of the Party lie not only in its large membership but, above all, in the latter's qualities, Marxist-Leninist education, loyalty to the cause of the Party and socialism and ability to keep in touch with the masses, to mobilize them and lead them towards the fulfilment of the national tasks, set by the Party and the government.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 333

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We must do our best to promote the further growth of our Party cadres and to remove without hesitation all incorrigible bureaucrats and office rats, arrogant little tyrants and windbags, who are incapable of operative work, *and boldly to raise to leading positions the new cadres that have proved to be capable organizers and efficient workers.*

Concluding Speech Before the Fifth Congress ..., Works, vol. 14, p. 344

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It is highly important for the proper selection of cadres, for their growth and training, for the timely correction of the mistakes and shortcomings in their work, to check on the execution of decisions and on the tasks that have been entrusted to them...

Ibid.

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A stepped-up training of reliable trade union and production cadres... is needed. Leaders and functionaries of the trade unions and the General Workers' Trade Union are expected to work tirelessly on improving their qualifications and on raising their ideological and political level; they are expected to think and act not in an abstract but in a concrete and businesslike manner.

Without the Working Class There Can Be No People's Democracy, Works, vol. 14, p. 10

***

Empty prattlers and vain babblers should not be tolerated in leading positions in the trade unions and the enterprises. Capable, talented and active unionists and production workers should be encouraged to fill commanding posts in industry and the economic sphere.

Ibid.

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Always try to see things in their true light, and not imagine them the way you wish them to be.

Wonderful, Young, Intelligent and Promising Cadres..., Works, vol. 11, p. 372

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The state, the public organizations and espécially the Party, which is the leading party in our country, should take all possible measures to increase the number of competent cadres, devoted to our people and country, cadres who are directly engaged in production, who stem from the people, who are familiar with their woes and griefs and are ready to face all hardships and sufferings in order safely to steer the country to port.

Our Party's Foresight..., Works, vol. 13, p. 85

***

From among the thousands and scores of thousands of shockworkers who will come to the fore in all sectors of production and agriculture, from among these young and capable forces there will have to emerge the new engineering and technical cadres of our industry and our whole economy.

What Is Needed for the Success of the Shockworkers' Movement..., Works, vol. 13, pp. 28-9

***

Working hours should be made good use of, labour discipline should be improved, no one should idle away his time, time should not be wasted, the energies of industrial workers, office workers or employees in enterprises and offices should be focused on preserving the values of production from being squandered; we must economize our time, efforts, energy, materials – everything we have.

Ibid., pp. 29-30

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Right now there is no greater crime against our country than idleness. Idleness is a crime which must be strictly punished morally, politically and penally.

The Printed Word Is a Mighty Weapon, Works, vol. 13, p. 137

ART, LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

There are no small or great nations as to talent in the field of culture.

In its time, the bourgeoisie fought stubbornly for the cause of its class with all available weapons, including that of literature. What made the survivals of knighthood so ridiculous? *Don Quixote* by Cervantes. *Don Quixote* was the strongest weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie against the feudal system and the aristocracy. The revolutionary proletariat needs at least a lesser Cervantes, who would give it a similar weapon in its fight.

Revolutionary Literature in the Struggle Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, pp. 3-4

***

Yes, fearlessness, self-denial, exemplary heroism and boundless devotion to the revolution – these were the qualities which made Chernishevsky's characters the favourite examples of the young revolutionary generations.

To the Young Readers, Works, vol. 10, p. 210

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What is the explanation for this impact, this influence of Chernishevsky's novel? *(What Is to Be Done?* – translator's note)' To my mind, the explanation should be sought in the fact that the great revolutionary and publicist, despite all his erroneous political conceptions, which were characteristic of revolutionary enlightenment, has succeeded in creating a wonderful, living image of the new people of his day.

Ibid.

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I know some such foreign writers. They, poor souls, do not wish to write like the bourgeois writers... They are anxious to make some contribution to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. And they sit, these unhappy talented writers, and think and think of what to write about. If they only turned their eyes to the actual fight waged by millions of people, if they looked at the thousands of trials, strikes, demonstrations and clashes between the workers and their class enemies, if they examined more closely the proceedings of the Reichstag Fire Trial, they would find plenty of subjects. They would find a great many excellent subjects.

Revolutionary Literature in the Struggle Against Fascism, Works, vol. 10, p.2

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No, he is not a revolutionary writer the one who repeats: 'Long live the revolution!' A revolutionary writer is the man who helps to revolutionize the masses of workers and mobilize them to fight the enemy.

Ibid., p. 4

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There are no small or great nations as to talent in the field of culture. There are no superior or inferior nations. Every nation, no matter how small, can make its contribution to the universal treasurestore of culture.

For an All-Round Advance of Bulgaria's Socialist Culture, Works, vol. 14, p. 364

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Only the proletarian revolution can prevent the decline of culture and can ensure its flowering as a truly popular culture – *national in form and socialist in content;* this is being done in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes.

The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International..., Works, vol. 10, p. 115

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Not every talent is an asset. If the talent is not developed, if the asset is not rationally used, there will be no results.

For an All-Round Advance of Bulgaria's Socialist Culture, Works, vol. 14, pp. 363-4

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... no matter what, the Bulgarian working intelligentsia is loyal to the legacy of its teachers Levski, Botev and others... and no force on earth is capable of making it betray its people and its class.

Letter to the Board of the Student Group in Prague, November 28, 1923. G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p. 132

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... our people need a genuinely people's literature just as much as they need bread and air; a literature which is true to life and profoundly emotional and which will help to raise the cultural and ideological level of the people, cultivate devotion and love for the people and the homeland, intensify the general aversion to fascism

and the people's enemies, scourging everything that is rotten and harmful to the healthy organism of the people ..., which will inculcate love of genuine science, encourage heroic deeds in labour and culture, in the fight for the defence of the people's rights and liberties, educate our people in a spirit of ... international solidarity and eternal friendship with our liberator, the great Soviet people.

On the Development of Genuine Literature in New Bulgaria, Works, vol. 11, pp. 191-2

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The Writers' Union is called upon to give its all-round contribution to the development of genuine literature in new Bulgaria. It has the important task of encouraging in every possible way all really talented people, of constantly increasing their number and helping them to create the necessary conditions for their creative literary work.

It is the duty of the Writers' Union with the aid of sound literary criticism carefully to clear the Bulgarian literary field of harmful weeds, to purge the ranks of the Bulgarian writers of incompetent, self-styled writers and all sorts of literary hacks.

Ibid., p. 192

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Every proletarian home must be illumined by the life-giving rays of socialism and be brought close to the every-day source of these rays – our central Party and Trade Union organ Rabotnicheski Vestnik.

Our Trade Union Campaign, Works, vol. 4, p. 104

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Rabotnicheski Vestnik has always been in the front ranks of the struggle as an unflinching champion of the workers' interests.

Rabotnicheski Vestnik and the Workers' Trade Union Movement, Works, vol. 6, p. 352

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... the press is a powerful weapon; in the hands of the capitalists and their agents it is aimed at misleading, splitting and enslaving the working people; in the hands of the proletariat, it is an instrument of education and culture, a weapon in the liberation struggle of the working people.

Letter to the Workers' Cooperative Printing House in Millau, France, September 16, 1935. G. Dimitrov, Letters, 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p. 338

***

Bulgarian newspapers, Bulgarian journalists do indeed face very serious and responsible tasks. In order to implement them, the journalists should above all have profound devotion to the people, genuine patriotism and irreproachable integrity, unshakable confidence in the forces of the people and the future of our country, as well as indissoluble bonds with the masses; they must be familiar with their needs, demands and aspirations; they themselves must study persistently and improve their professional qualifications, they must know how to write in such a way that the average reader would be able to understand and profit by the contents of the newspaper without any great difficulty. When a journalist writes, his first duty is to have in his

mind's eye the reader for whom he is writing and always to think of whether the average reader would be able correctly to understand his meaning.

The Press Is a Great Power, Works, vol. 11, pp. 201-2

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The newspaper must inform, guide and educate its readers in the spirit of relentless struggle against fascist obscurantism, against all internal and external enemies of the people, against all overt and covert disrupters of Fatherland Front unity. It is duty-bound properly to elucidate the pressing problems of the day, as well as the domestic and foreign political events, and not to waste space on vulgar sensations and dull verbosity.

Ibid., p. 202

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The press, the workers in the sphere of political propaganda, the nominees and propagandists of the Fatherland Front must remember that the more truth they bring to the people, the better and more convincingly they will explain the real character and aims of the platform and policy of the Fatherland Front; the more clearly they show up the harmful role of the dissidents and the treacherous intentions of the foreign agents, the stronger the anti-fascist, patriotic unity of our people will be, the easier it will be to overcome the difficulties inherited from the fascist regime, the more certainly and quickly the remnants of hateful fascism

will be destroyed and the more confidently and successfully the building of new, free, democratic and powerful Bulgaria will proceed.

Message to the Conference of the Press and the Cultural and Educational Departments of the Fatherland Front, Works, vol. 11, p. 231

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Our people need, especially at the moment, a prompt, sober and truthful reflecting in the press of their all-round progress, of their heroic efforts to defend their national cause and take a worthy place in the family of freedom-loving and democratic nations.

Message to the Managing Council of the Journalists' Union in Bulgaria, Works, vol. 13, p. 35

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We need the printed word as a mighty weapon in firmly rallying the people's forces against the internal and external enemies.

The Printed Word Is a Mighty Weapon, Works, vol. 13, p. 140

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Journalists, correspondents, newspapermen are a tremendous force. It is not surprising that the press should have been called the seventh great power.

Answers to Questions by Romanian and Other Foreign Correspondents, Works, vol. 13, pp. 426-7

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In our People's Democracy... the principle of freedom of the press has found a brilliant application.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, p. 480

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It should be obvious to everyone that since the proper place for a bandit with a gun in his hand is in prison, the bandit with a pen in his hand cannot be allowed to harm the people.

Ibid., p. 481

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Artistic creation must definitely be placed at the service of the proletarian revolution, of the struggle against fascism and capitalism, of the struggle for the mobilization and revolutionary training of the masses.

Revolutionary Literature Should Wage a Struggle Against Fascism! G. Dimitrov on Literature, Art and Culture, Sofia, 1971, p. 121

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The cinema is a powerful means of educating our people and raising their cultural and political standards.

Message to the Union of Film Workers in Bulgaria, Works, vol. 12, p. 7

***

... The Fatherland Front and its government look upon art as a powerful spiritual and cultural factor for the development of our people's creative forces in the building and progress of our young People's Republic of Bulgaria.

On the Role of Artists, Works, vol. 13, p. 62

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We consider art in all its forms as a means of mobilizing the moral, spiritual and physical forces of our people and their youth for constructive and tireless labour, for unquenchable love of our country, for readiness to overcome all difficulties, for steeling their will and confidence in their own forces.

Talk with the Delegation to the 16th Ordinary Congress of the Artists' Union in Bulgaria, April 26, 1947, Works, vol. 13, p. 118

***

We attach great importance to the portrayal of the new type of young people in the construction brigades and the new type of workers – the shockworkers and, in general, to the vivid representation of the labour enthusiasm throughout the country. We attach great importance to the artistic recreation of the militant exploits of the partisans in their struggle against fascism prior to September 9, 1944, and of the soldiers in the Patriotic War afterwards.

Ibid.

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Art in the service of the people, of justice and socialism!

Art in the Service of the People, of Justice and Socialism, Works, vol. 13, p. 532

EDUCATION

Knowledge is strength!

... Knowledge is strength!
Armed with knowledge, we shall march all the more boldly and confidently to the final victory!

Our Educational Work, Works, vol. 7, p. 72

***

The people's teacher must be a model Bulgarian patriot, a bold and consistent fighter for the salutary cause of the Fatherland Front, which guarantees the well-being of our people and the prosperity of new Bulgaria.

Message to the District Teachers' Conference in Roussé, October 2, 1945, Works, vol. 11, p. 263

***

Laziness in general is very dangerous, but laziness of the mind is the most dangerous of all. When one goes to bed at night, one would do well to think about what one has learned during the day, what new things one has acquired, and strike a balance and draw a lesson for the following day. One should also go to one's room and stay alone for a few hours, taking stock of the positive and negative aspects of one's work. This is very helpful indeed.

Wonderful, Young, Intelligent and Promising Cadres... Works, vol. 11, p. 371

***

Everybody should study seriously. No effort, time or energy should be spared in mastering the achievements of science. Persistent, day-to-day work is needed so that one may train oneself for properly serving the peo-

ple. A relentless struggle has to be waged against mental laziness, moral decay and the formal passing of terms. Students should never forget that theirs is the best time for study and training. And they must use this time to the best advantage.

Sofia University Day, Works, vol. 12, pp. 448-9

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While teaching their subjects, the professors should go on with their own studies. An end must be put to the rotten practice of reading the same stereotype lectures year after year. The University must be a centre of advanced science – a laboratory of constantly developing scientific thought and a centre of real patriotism. It must serve as a connecting link between science and the vital needs of the people, and especially of our national economy.

Ibid., p. 449

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The teachers who do not constantly work on improving their knowledge and professional qualifications, cannot be real enlighteners of the people or genuine social and cultural workers.

Role of the Educational Workers in the Economic and Cultural Progress of Our Country, Works, vol. 13, p. 111

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When one has low ideological and political standards, one cannot work successfully for the proper ideological and political education of school youth and the working people in town and countryside.

Ibid.

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Political education... should not be general, it should be filled with a concrete content, related to current domestic and international developments and to our economic, cultural and other tasks...

The Tasks of the Bulgarian Women's Union for the Politioal Enlightenment and Cultural Development of Bulgarian Women, Works, vol. 14, p. 42

***

The fulfilment of the economic tasks is most closely tied up ... with the raising of the cultural and ideological level of the Bulgarian people. Special attention should therefore be paid to the cultural, ideological and political education of the working masses from town and countryside and of the working intelligentsia in the spirit of socialism.

Political Report of the Central Committee..., Works, vol. 14, p. 323

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Our library clubs, which have played a remarkable role in the cultural history of our people, are now faced with the imperative task of becoming model centres of culture and education, tireless disseminators of political and scientific knowledge among the masses.

Message of Greetings to the Eminent Public Figure and Educationist Todor Samodoumov, June 18, 1949, Works, vol. 14, p. 385

FAMILY,
WIFE,
LOVE

... Love is a major factor in a person's life.
It lends one wings.

The family *is the nucleus of our Fatherland Front society, of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.*

Mothers' and Children's Day, Works, vol. 14, p. 32

***

Mutual respect and comradely cooperation between women and men for the common weal of our country should be made into an immutable law by the Fatherland Front, its government and all public and cultural organizations.

Message to the Presidium of the Meeting on the Occasion of Women's Day, Works, vol. 13, p. 100

***

Our progressive-minded, Fatherland Front family must be based:
first, on equality between women and men;
second, on mutual respect between husband and wife;
third, on mutual moral support between spouses;
fourth, on their joint concern for the upbringing and education of their children;
fifth, and last but not least, on their joint work and efforts for the implementation of the Fatherland Front Programme.

The Tasks of the Bulgarian Women's Union..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 43-4

***

The difficulties which are daily encountered in life, the troubles with which every family has to cope, create... frictions even in the best families... However, ... our sound rule should be: never, as the people say, burn the house to get rid of the mouse.

Ibid., p. 44

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... the government, Fatherland Front society and especially the women, organized in the Women's Union, must take the greatest, systematic, permanent and daily care to strengthen the family in our country, to create sound family ties...

Ibid.

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The capacity of women for socially useful work, the labour productivity of their husbands, sons and daughters at enterprises or offices greatly depend on what takes place in the family.

Ibid., p. 45

***

Woman is a major factor in the family. It is the woman who is chiefly responsible for the climate – whether good or bad – in the family. A man with a good wife rapidly advances, and a man with a bad wife goes from bad to worse. The opposite is also true. But the former is most often true with regard to the house, the home, the family and the children.

Ibid., p. 46

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Women are a tremendous power when they are politically conscious, organized and active. Our whole experience teaches us that not a single nation-wide effort is conceivable without the participation of women.

The victory of the Fatherland Front over fascism gave equality to our women. They had fully deserved it. However, equality will bring real benefits to women themselves, to their families, children and our whole nation only when they learn to avail themselves of their civil and political rights for a conscious and active participation in our country's economic, social, cultural and political life.

Women Are a Tremendous Power, Works, vol. 11, p. 218

***

I am confident that the Bulgarian anti-fascist and democratic women will show a noble striving not to lag behind their fathers, husbands and sons – builders of new, free, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

Ibid.

***

It is necessary to abandon, once and for all, the outdated notion which is still current in our country, namely that the woman's place is at home, that her obligations boil down to looking after her husband, children and house, that women are 'long on hair but short on brains'. A man who has such an attitude towards women is unworthy to live in a civilized society, he is no full-fledged member of new, Fatherland Front Bulgaria. We must never forget that it is only with the aid of our mothers, wives, sisters and daughters that we shall be able fully to consolidate the historic achievements of September 9 and bring its cause to a successful completion for the good of our wonderful homeland.

Ibid., p. 219

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With her work, struggle and self-denial, with her maternal and sisterly love, the Bulgarian woman has won a place of honour in our country and on the international scene...

The Bulgarian Woman Has Won a Place of Honour in Our Country, Works, vol. 12, p. 250

***

... there can be no real democracy, progress or prosperity without the active and conscious participation of women in the administration of the country, in its public, political, economic and cultural affairs.

Ibid., p. 255

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Those who look on women as part of the furniture are neither decent, nor cultured men. Those who treat women in the Oriental manner and are on the same level with those Turks who had harems, are not men of culture. It is necessary to insist all the time and everywhere – in the press, at meetings and particularly in personal relations – on a change in this attitude. A healthy, cultured attitude is necessary towards woman as a human being, a comrade and mother of our children – the greatest asset of our nation. ... That is the attitude, the mutual respect and relations between men and women which should prevail in Fatherland Front Bulgaria. The struggle against the shameful legacy of the past should be waged boldly and resolutely.

Ibid., pp. 259-60

***

Women are said to be born orators. It is quite natural and proper that they should be by nature more gifted than men in expressing what they feel. As a rule, their words gush from the bottom of their heart. If the heart is full of good intentions, and if their mind is imbued with the great ideals for which we are fighting and will continue to fight, women will be a tremendous force.

Forward Against Reaction and Fascism..., Works, vol. 12, p. 340

***

... a particularly important task is to secure an assiduous and systematic training of capable women's cadres, devoted to the People's Republic, for all spheres of state, social, political and cultural building and also for the sphere of social policy and the care of mother and child.

Towards a Further Activation and All-Round Development and Advancement of Bulgarian Women, Works, vol. 13, p. 267

***

Our women – ministers of state, mayors, judges, school inspectors, managers of economic enterprises, leaders of public organizations, as well as ordinary workers and peasants – are honourably discharging their public duties and fully justifying the great confidence which the people's rule has placed in them.

The Fatherland Front..., Works, vol. 13, pp. 478-9

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The mother is *the mainstay of the progressive-minded Fatherland Front family.*

Mothers' and Children's Day Works, vol. 14, p. 32

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The mother is *the first and foremost educator of her children.*

Ibid.

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The concern to improve the material and cultural standards of mothers and ensure the proper upbringing and education of children — the future fine citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria — must be the day-to-day task of the whole nation.

Ibid.

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... the better women are educated politically, the higher their cultural standards, the broader their intellectual horizons, the better they feel and understand the current big and small problems, adopting a sound, correct, scientific and precise attitude towards them – the more successfully and confidently they will work and do their duties as mothers and wives and as workers and Bulgarian patriots, public workers and citizens of our People's Republic.

The Tasks of the Bulgarian Women's Union..., Works, vol. 14, pp. 35-6

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Many foreigners are amazed, and rightly so, at the fact that our women are much more active in public affairs than women in many other countries.

Ibid., p. 46

***

I must say frankly that I consider as a real exploit the public activities of housewives who fulfil their public obligations in addition to their house work and the care for their home and children.

Ibid., p. 47

***

We must raise on a pedestal the good and devoted Bulgarian mother... Motherhood is something great – to give birth to healthy children, and already with the first nursing the mother imbues her child with love for the homeland, with devotion to the people, with loyalty to socialism and confidence in its triumph.

Ibid., p. 49

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With their experience, with their motherly feelings and love of children, with their responsiveness to the needs and difficulties of the working people, ... with their acute perception of all irregularities, bureaucracy, idleness and waste, as well as of injustice, the women People's Councillors can be – and I do not doubt for a

moment that they will be – among the best and most useful members of the People's Councils in town and countryside.

Letter to the Standing Bureau of the National Council of the Fatherland Front on the Occasion of the Election Victory, Works, vol. 14, p. 379

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Love... is a major factor in a person's life. It lends one wings. Sound moral principles are needed, not hypocritical and sanctimonious, but truly communist moral principles.

The Young Workers' League Should Be a School of Socialism, Works, vol. 12, p. 81

***

... in man's private and family life, love works wonders, while unhappy love often leads to disaster.

The Romanian and the Bulgarian People Are Headed Towards Bright Horizons, Works, vol. 13, p. 403

ON EMINENT PERSONALITIES

Our new Party generations will always learn... above all from the great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin...

... the future and happiness, both in private and in public and state life, do not belong to the cowards, idlers and weaklings. Happiness and the future, both in private and in public life, belong by right to the strong, courageous, persevering and determined men, women and young people.

We Are a Small Nation, but Our Courage and Willpower Are Great, Works, vol. 12, p. 230

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Our new Party generations will always learn, to the incomparable benefit of themselves and the Party, above all from the great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin..., and also from our Bulgarian giants – Blagoev, the Old Man, and Kirkov, the Master. And the better they combine what they have learned from the former and the latter, the greater benefit they will bring to the cause of our glorious Party, the more successfully they will be able to serve our people in the building of new, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria.

G. Kirkov, Works, vol. 11, pp. 238-9

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Side by side with Marx and Engels... Lenin will live forever in the history of the workers' liberation movement, owing to the immeasurably great achievements of the Russian Socialist Revolution, to the application in practice of the principles of the Communist Manifesto and the establishment of the proletarian Soviet State. His name has become the symbol of the international workers' revolution which, after having triumphed in

Russia, swept over Hungary, shook Germany and is steadily spreading in order to engulf the whole capitalist world.

Preface to the Pamphlet 'Lenin Addressing the Workers in Europe and America', Works, vol. 5, p. 228

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Lenin's name is sacred and beloved of the working people in all countries.

Under the Great and Invincible Banner of Leninism, Works, vol. 14, p. 356

***

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin left us a huge scientific and literary heritage. His works are an inexhaustible store of scientific, ideological, political and tactical weapons and a source of the greatest wisdom and acumen.

Ibid., p. 358

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He (Dimiter Blagoev – editor's note) anticipated and proved the inevitable rise of capitalism in Bulgaria and the emergence of the proletariat, which is called upon to realize the ideas of socialism.

Dimiter Blagoev, Works, vol. 8, p. 337

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By undertaking the study of economic life in the Balkans, Blagoev became the first Bulgarian economist.

Ibid.

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Blagoev, the founder of our Party, had certain distinctive features which were characteristic of Bulgarian left-wing socialism and which testify to the affinity between left-wing socialism in Bulgaria and bolshevism.
These distinctive features of our late leader Blagoev are the following: *1. Class implacability towards the bourgeoisie and its right-wing socialist (menshevik) tools. Class against class – that was the slogan, that was the motto,* that was the policy of Blagoev and of Bulgarian left-wing socialism. 2. *Everything for the Party and the proletariat.* Complete subordination of one's personal life, interests and will to the interests and will of the Party of the proletariat. 3. *Abiding, boundless faith in the forces and future of the working class.*

For a Turn in the Party, Works, vol. 9, pp. 464-5

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If we want to trace briefly Blagoev's militant path in a chronological order, we may say that,
Blagoev began his revolutionary activity as a young man in the National Liberation Movement in Constantinople.
In Russia, Blagoev overcame the influence of the populists and took his first steps towards scientific socialism, forming the first workers' social-democratic group in St Petersburg.
In Bulgaria, Blagoev became the organizer and leader of the class Party of the Bulgarian proletariat and the greatest follower of Marx in Bulgaria and the Balkans.
Blagoev gradually overcame his differences on basic

problems with bolshevism and passed over to Lenin's positions.
Blagoev died as an unflinching disciple of Lenin and a fighter of the Comintern.

Speech on the 11th Anniversary of D. Blagoev's Death,. May 11, 1935, Works, vol. 10, p.6

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... if Blagoev were alive... the Party would, under his leadership, have effected much more painlessly, rapidly and successfully its development and transformation into a bolshevik party.

Ibid., pp. 7-8

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Dimiter Blagoev was a great theoretician, the best propagandist and consistent organizer of the working class movement. He was distinguished for his principled attitude and was never guided in his actions by personal motivations or momentary moods.

A Great Teacher and Leader, Works, vol. 11, p. 198

***

Georgi Kirkov or the Master, as we all called him, was Blagoev's closest co-worker in the founding and development of our Party. The militant and creative cooperation between Blagoev and Kirkov is a noteworthy fact in our Party's history.

G. Kirkov, Works, vol. 11, p. 236

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Kirkov was the universally acknowledged tactician of our Party. As a rule, his opinion on tactical matters was of decisive importance.

Ibid., p. 237

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Kirkov had a vast general and, especially, Marxist erudition, and was in addition a brilliant speaker and political propagandist. With his powerful and convincing speeches he captivated and inspired the masses to an extent that no one after him has been able to do.

Ibid., p. 236

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We can frankly say that so far Kirkov's place in our Party has not been filled. We have a number of talented workers, but none of them can fully replace our great Master.

Ibid., p. 238

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A whole volume could be written about Vassil Kolarov, about his rich and meaningful life, his perfect integrity and his social, political and scholarly work. Generations will be brought up in a democratic and progressive spirit by studying his unexceptionable life. The Bulgarian people are fortunate in having such a

great, dedicated and extremely capable statesman, possessed of a tremendous erudition and rich political experience.

Message of Congratulations to Comrade Vassil Kolarov on His 70th Birthday, Works, vol. 13, p. 200

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With his unusual, richly endowed intellect, strict adherence to principle, crystal-clear integrity, personal and political probity and boundless devotion to the cause of the working class, Hristo (Kabakchiev – editor's note) will long remain an excellent example to be followed by the young revolutionary generations. His name will deservedly rank alongside the glorious names of the Old Man, Kirkov, Gavril in the history of our heroic Party.

To Comrade M. Kabakchieva on the Demise of Comrade H. Kabakchiev, November 1940, Works, vol. 11, pp. 92-3

***

A talented propagandist and organizer and a major public and political figure, our Stanké (Stefan Dimitrov-Marek – editor's note), as his closest comrades used to call him, dedicated his inexhaustible energy and brilliant talents to the cause of the working class and to his people. An excellent communist and a true people's fighter, he was also an ardent patriot, a tireless enemy of fascism and Great-Bulgarian chauvinism. Educated in the ranks of the left-wing socialists under the guidance of Blagoev and Kirkov, Stefan Dimitrov had after that a good Marxist-Leninist schooling and became one of the best leaders of the Party.

A People's Fighter, Works, vol. 11, p. 185

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An insidious disease wrested Todor Petrov from the ranks of our Party when his exceptional talents and abilities were at their peak... His most cherished desire to take an active and leading part in the building of socialism in our country, for which he was so richly endowed, was not fulfilled.

To the Vidin Committee on Commemorating the 24th Anniversary of the Death of the Eminent Party Functionary Todor Petrov, Works, vol. 14, pp. 191-2

***

... if Stamboliiski had had the good fortune of being alive in our times, if he had had the opportunity of drawing a lesson from political developments after 1923..., he would have been the first... to roll up his sleeves, as he was wont to do, take up his pen and, with the living word and an iron broom, would have set about eradicating the bourgeois weeds so as to stamp out everything which has acquired the notorious name of *drouzhbashtina*.*

Basic Questions of Policy and Tactics of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, Works, vol. 13, p. 347

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Yordanka Nikolova holds a special place among our glorious heroines and heroes who gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of our people. Her ever-burning hatred of fascism and the people's

* Derogatory term for the political practices of the right wing in the Agrarian Party

enemies, her boundless devotion to the working class and deep love of her country, her exceptional talents, inexhaustible thirst for knowledge and self-education and her crystal-clear integrity made Yordanka, though very young, an outstanding communist functionary and a people's fighter against fascism, for justice and freedom, and the triumph of our great cause – socialism.

Yordanka Nikolova, an Unforgettable Heroine of Our People, Works, vol. 13, p. 134

***

Lilyana Dimitrova was one of the brightest figures among the fighters for the liberation of our country from cursed fascism and foreign oppression. It is from the wonderful, militant life and the heroic deeds of such heroes of the people as our Lilyana that the growing generations will learn how to serve the people with self-abnegation and wage a relentless struggle against their enemies.

Eternal Glory to the Heroine Lilyana Dimitrova, Works, vol. 12, p. 210

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To the revolutionary proletariat in the Balkans, our Klara (Zetkin – editor's note) is a symbol of the struggle and a bright example, which fills us with pride at the fact that there is in the front ranks of the Communist International such a selfless and heroic woman whose hair is white, but who has so much youthful zest and energy, who so vividly embodies revolutionary Marxism, revolutionary proletarian practice and boundless readiness for sacrifice and self-denial for the cause of the world proletarian revolution. Her life so

brilliantly combines the (qualities of) the old guard (who have remained) loyal to the uncompromising revolutionary struggle, and of the new Leninist generation of the world communist movement.

Message to Klara Zetkin on Her 70th Birthday, July 1927, G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-49, Sofia, 1962, p. 178

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It should be emphatically pointed out that Thaelmann's is the best and most brilliant mind among the German proletariat, that he is one of the outstanding leaders of the international proletariat, extremely valuable to the working people throughout the world.

Interview with Foreign Journalists, Works, vol. 9, p. 439

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Comrade Thaelmann's revolutionary and militant life shows us ... that the real revolutionary, the real proletarian leader emerges after having thoroughly assimilated Marxism-Leninism – and that, *in the heat of the class struggle.*

Let Us Save Comrade Thaelmann, Works, vol. 9, p. 489

***

Hristo Botev was the most talented and far-sighted leader of the Bulgarian National Liberation Movement in the past century.

Hristo Botev Is a Banner Which Will Fly Ever Higher Over New, Democratic Bulgaria, Works, vol. 12, p. 204

held aloft the banner of the true people's art – not art for art's sake, but art in the service of the people.

For the General Advance of Bulgaria's Socialist Culture, Works, vol. 14, pp. 360-1

***

Gorky's great name and his unfading memory will remain deeply imprinted in the hearts of the working people of all countries and will inspire them in their struggle until the final victory of socialism in the world. And in this struggle, they will profit with deep gratitude from the impressive literary treasurestore which is the great man's finest and most precious legacy.

Gorky's Name Will Inspire Millions, Works, vol. 10, p. 266

***

The international proletariat, all enslaved and exploited people have lost a true friend, a talented bard and a source of inspiration in the struggle against capitalist slavery, obscurantism, reaction and fascism, in the struggle for bread, freedom, peace and socialism. They have lost him at a moment when they particularly need Gorky's literary work and his well-aimed and telling blows at the class enemy.

Ibid.

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The name of Tom Mann* – an unflinching fighter against capitalist exploitation and imperialist war, a

* Mann, Tom (1856-1941), prominent figure in the British working class movement.

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Our great national hero, revolutionary and poet Hristo Botev serves as the best example for the Bulgarian people, their youth and students to follow. In our present struggle for democracy, a People's Republic and national independence, for the progress and upsurge of our nation, Hristo Botev is a banner which will fly ever higher over new, democratic Bulgaria.

Ibid., p. 205

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We can positively state that, by his talent and the character of his militant literary work, Smyrnenski is Bulgaria's Mayakovsky.

By His Talent and Creative Work, Smyrnenski Is Our Mayakovsky,Works, vol. 14, p. 203

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In our times, Smyrnenski's rich literary heritage is a precious treasurestore and should be brought to the knowledge of all working people and especially of our splendid youth...

Ibid.

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In her (Adriana Boudevska's – editor's note) person we honour all art workers in Bulgaria and especially those of the theatre, who showed their love for their country, who withstood many temptations and coercion and who, throughout the dark period of fascist tyranny,

glorious fighter for the cause of international proletarian solidarity, is the symbol of struggle for and boundless dedication to the great cause of the emancipation of the working class.

In Memory of Tom Mann, Works, vol. 11, pp. 103-4

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With his brilliant pen and his eloquence of a workers' tribune, Vaillant-Couturier* , a loyal son of the party which he served with self-denial since it was founded, and who was fully dedicated to the cause of the emancipation of the working class, mercilessly branded the enemies of the workers and valiantly fought against fascism, for the cause of the Popular Front, for freedom, peace and socialism.

Message to Cachin, Thorez, Duclos, Works, vol. 10, p. 379

* Vaillant-Couturier, Paul (1892-1937), prominent figure in the French working class movement, one of the leaders of the French Communist Party, a writer, poet and publicist.

ABOUT HIMSELF AND HIS RELATIVES

The letter of our beloved mother has particularly cheered me up. The fact that, in spite of everything, she is so brave, courageous and full of hope, is a great relief and consolation to me.

I had just been hired as an apprentice at a printing shop when the first big printers' strike broke out. We, printers' apprentices, formed a strike committee. I was elected chairman. Every morning I got together 50 or 60 apprentices and helped to organize them. That was my first organizational experience.

Let Us Learn and Work, Works, vol. 11, p. 363

***

I was barely 13 and in the second class in school when my father fell ill and I had to go out and get a job... At the printing shop I used to work 10 to 12 hours a day, and in the evening, when I came back home tired, I would study by myself. I had no programme, no teacher, there was no one to tell me what to read. Very often I would stay up and read until early dawn. That was how I worked for years on end.

Work and Patriotism, Works, vol. 13, pp. 366-7

***

... the novel *What Is To Be Done?* had an extraordinarily profound and indelible influence on me when I was a young worker, taking my first steps in the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria. And I must say that there has been no other literary work, either earlier or later, to influence my revolutionary education as powerfully as Chernishevsky's novel.

To the Young Readers, vol. 10, pp. 209-10

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... *the fight for a dictatorship of the proletariat and the victory of communism is*, without doubt, the substance of my life. I should like to live at least another twenty years for communism...

Dimitrov's Notes for His First Speech in Court, Works, vol. 9, p. 115

***

You are asking me what I am going to do here? That is perfectly obvious. I am a soldier of the proletarian revolution, of the Comintern. As such I was brought before the Court.
Here I shall do my duty as a soldier of the proletarian revolution – to my very last breath.

Interview with Soviet and Foreign Journalists, Works, vol. 9, p. 365

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I can say with certainty that had I not learned from our great teacherVladimir Ilyich..., had I not had such a wonderful and heroic mother and had I not had as a comrade and fellow-worker for 25 years such a proletarian revolutionary as Lyuba Ivoshevich, my late wife, I probably would not have been as firm as I have been all through my revolutionary life and especially before the fascist court in Leipzig.

Message to Soviet Women on the Occasion of International Women's Day, March 8, 1934. G. Dimitrov, Letters 1905-1949, Sofia, 1962, p. 270

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... in my 35 years of revolutionary and political life I have made no few mistakes, but there are two mistakes which I shall never forget and for which I can never

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... when I was 16 or 17 years old, I used to save a few leva from my meagre wages to be able, after a day of exhausting work, to stand for hours in the gallery of the theatre and admire the acting of Adriana Boudevska, Vassil Kirkov, Vera Ignatieva and others. I still recall the rapture, the enthusiasm and spiritual satisfaction with which I used to return home, and how I would be unable to sleep the whole night! What emotions, what impulse for work, for study and progress did those splendid characters give me!

For the General Advance of Bulgaria's Socialist Culture, Works, vol, 14, p. 362

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My diploma was not given me by a university, but by life itself.

Work and Patriotism, Works, vol. 13, p. 367

***

For ten years I was a Member of Parliament in Bulgaria representing the working class, until the fascist coup d'état in 1923, until my forced emigration from Bulgaria. And I considered it a great honour to be a representative of the working class....

Speech at an Election Meeting in Kostroma, December 8, 1937, Works, vol. 10, p. 394

forgive myself: the first mistake I made together with the Central Committee of the Party on June 9, 1923, when we took a so-called 'neutral' stand during the fascist coup d'état, and the second, when not only I, but the whole Party failed to understand in time (as early as 1918-9) that our revolutionary Bulgarian left-wing socialism *was not yet bolshevism.*

For a Turn in the Party, Works, vol. 9, p. 466

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Wherever you may be, you should never forget the most important thing: your studies. I have studied always and everywhere. I studied while I worked at the printing shop. I studied while I was in prison. I also studied during the Reichstag Fire Trial.

Talk with Pioneer Children from Leningrad, Works, vol. 9, p. 495

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Twenty-two years have elapsed since I was last on Bulgarian soil. I hope you will believe me when I tell you that throughout that whole period, no matter where I have been or what I have been doing, I never stopped thinking and working for my people, the Bulgarian people, for their future happiness and prosperity.

Forward to a Brilliant, Overwhelming Election Victory, Works, vol. 11, p. 286

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... for those of us who hold responsible posts in the organization, the state, etc, *there is no greater affliction than that of losing one's sense of reality.*

Wonderful, Young, Intelligent and Promising Cadres... Works, vol. 11, pp. 371-2

***

During the hardest times I have been through, and I have faced death many times, I have managed to stay hale and hearty thanks to my belief in justice, in the people's forces, in the power and future of socialism and communism.

Work and Patriotism, Works, vol. 13, p. 370

***

... you may have no doubts as to that I am burning with desire... to have my health restored as soon as possible..., to be able to return among you and devote the last years of my life to serving the people, headed by the working class, in the ranks of the heroic Bulgarian Communist Party, which first imbued me with the great socialist ideas and brought me up in a spirit of irreconcilable class struggles against the evils of capitalism and all enemies of the people, no matter under what guise they may appear.

May Day Message, May 1, 1949, Works, vol. 14, p. 371

***

All that is good should be adopted and all that is bad, rejected. I do not like weaklings, idlers and cowards. I like fearless people who behave honourably, who work and study well.

Let Us Learn and Work, Works, vol. 11, p. 362

***

The letter of our beloved mother has particularly cheered me up. The fact that, in spite of everything, she is so brave, courageous and full of hope, is a great relief and consolation to me.

I have always been proud of our mother, of her noble character, firmness and selfless love and now I am even more proud of her. I wish her long years of excellent health and energy, courage and faith in the future. I am confident that we shall meet again under happier circumstances.

To Parashkeva Dimitrova and Magdalina Barumova, May 10, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 19

***

I was particularly elated by your encouraging words, because to me they are a proof that now as always, and in spite of all the blows of fate, you are a brave mother with a firm will, a cheerful spirit and an unshakable faith. From the bottom of my heart I wish you good health for many years to come for the sake of all of us – your children and grandchildren!

You are quite right: in some respects my fate is similar to that of the Apostle Paul. But he turned from Saul to *Paul,* while from the very beginning I was and remain only a 'proletarian Paul'. There will probably be another difference, too, and that is: the end of my life will not be so tragic as his.

To Parashkeva Dimitrova, May 28, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 22

***

I do not know... what has happened to Lyuba. According to information received shortly before my arrest, my poor wife was said to be on her deathbed. You know very well what this loss would mean to me. It would be the greatest loss and the most terrible blow in all my life.

To Parashkeva Dimitrova and Magdalina Barumova, 933, Work -1

***

Lyuba was an exceptional woman, wife and comrade, a proletarian poetess and revolutionary, a woman with a great heart and firm character, with many gifts and talents. Her help meant a great deal to me in my life and struggle. She died like a martyr, without even having had her ardent wish fulfilled – she herself to prepare her collected poems for publication...

To Parashkeva Dimitrova, June 26, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 38

***

Lina was quite right when she wrote: 'Mother is really a true heroine.' There was another heroine in our family – our unforgettable Lyuba.

To Parashkeva Dimitrova, September 12, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 101

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For a quarter of a century she followed by my side the thorny path of a proletarian revolutionary with an exceptional firmness and endurance, with an unswerving faith in the rightness of the cause of socialism and an unshakable confidence in the victory of that great cause.

A proletarian who assiduously and incessantly educated herself, who had a high culture and was a talented proletarian poetess, dedicated public figure, a wife and comrade in the real sense of the word, Lyuba Ivoshevich, in addition to her active participation in the working class movement and in the Communist Party, made many efforts and sacrifices for my own development and for the successful implementation of my difficult tasks of a workers' activist and fighter.

Lyuba Ivoshevich, May 27, 1948, Works, vol. 14, p. 117

ON VARIOUS TOPICS

The wheel of history is turning on and on...
It is turning and will continue to turn until
the final victory of communism!

Let us not forget that in the whole history of mankind the best men have often passed through prison... The struggle for a great ideal has always involved sacrifices. It was so with Christianity; it was so with Galileo, Giordano Bruno, Huss..., Thomas Münzer and a great many men of science and politics... It is so now with the communists!

To Magdalina Barumova, August 9, 1933, Works, vol. 9, p. 62

***

No less determined than old Galileo we, communists, declare today:
'Eppur si muove!'
The wheel of history is turning on and on towards a Soviet Europe, towards a World Union of Soviet Republics.
And neither measures of extermination, nor prisons or death sentences will be able to stop this wheel, driven by the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International. It is turning and will continue to turn until the final victory of communism!

Minutes of G. Dimitrov's Concluding Speech before the (Leipzig) Court, December 16, 1933, Works, vol. 9, pp. 286-7

***

... I am deeply convinced that there is not a single controversial international issue today which could not be resolved by negotiations, provided there is good will and the legitimate rights of the interested countries are respected, and also provided that the principles of the United Nations Organization are observed.

Answers to Questions Put by a United Press Correspondent, Works, vol. 14, pp. 140-1

***

One cannot serve God and Mammon at one and the same time. One cannot look with one eye to the left, and with the other to the right.

On the Role of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in the Fatherland Front, Works, vol. 11, p. 212

***

Our words will not be divorced from our deeds. We must and shall do whatever we say that we intend to do, but we shall not promise what is not feasible.

Private Trade and Industry Should Be Reorganized to a Certain Extent, Works, vol. 13, p. 25

***

Deeds and not words! Let us say as much as is necessary, and let us work more and talk less. And what is more, let us study continuously and persistently!

The Young Workers' League Should Be a School of Socialism, Works, vol. 12, p. 77

***

Time is very precious to us. It should be valued above many other valuable things. Twenty-four hours are not enough, a day is all too short... The only way is to organize our time wisely and rationally, both as leaders and rank-and-file militants.

Ibid., p. 70

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Life itself *helps* the new and undermines the *old.*

Along a New Path, Works, vol. 6, p. 142

***

The future does not belong to the cowards, to the dabblers in politics in cafés and pubs, but to the courageous and daring realistic politicians who rely on the people.

Interview with Communist Journalists from Abroad, Works, vol. 11, p. 330

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Physical training in our country, just as in the Soviet Union, should be viewed as an extremely important factor in the great cause of socialist upbuilding and the defence of our country.

To the Supreme Committee for Physical Training and Sports, Works, vol. 14, p. 386

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Physical training is a source of health and strength to our people in their struggle for a better future.

To the Conference of Railwaymen and Seamen – Sportsmen, October 8, 1945, Works, vol. 11, p. 277

BULGARIAN EDITOR: *E. ANDREYEVA*
TRANSLATOR: *V. IZMIRLIEV*
ENGLISH EDITOR: *V. ZHELYAZKOVA*
ART EDITOR: *V. TSAKOV*
ARTIST: *G. GUDELEV*
TECHNICAL EDITOR: *T. YANCHEVA*
PROOF-READER: *I. MIRKOVA*
Format: 84/108/32 17.75 Printers' sheets
Balkan State Publishing House
Index 1201000000
22 – 1976